

**ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL CHANGE
IN THE ISLE OF HARRIS
1680 - 1754**

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This thesis is an investigation into Harris Society during the period, and the effect upon the tenantry of economic and social change. Its main object has been to define, date and evaluate trends which have been hitherto discussed almost entirely in general terms.

The subject is a difficult one, indicated by lack of secondary sources and numerous errors in the few relevant detailed histories. For these reasons, developments have been explored by means of the accurate information provided by estate rentals, a previously little-used research medium and a chapter on methodology is therefore included.

From the rentals it is possible to see Harris' unique position in Inverness-shire society. During the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries the influence of tradition on the insular economy was very much in evidence - far more so than on the mainland or, indeed, than in Skye. In 1724, however, change was precipitated by Norman Macleod's assumption of estate management; his extravagant tastes required resources which, owing to the nature of the economy, the mass of the tenantry were increasingly unable to give, with the sale of Harris in 1779 the inevitable result. Economic and social change is thus epitomised by an increasingly cash-orientated landlord-tenant relationship and the subsequent polarisation of society.

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Professor Smout states in 'A History of the Scottish People 1560 - 1830', "By 1700 or 1730 ... several things were manifestly different from what they had been within the living memory of most men's fathers".¹ This thesis is an exploration of the changes which occurred in the Isle of Harris during the generations preceding the Jacobite Rebellion of 1745. Until recently they seem to have been obscured by the cataclysmic results of government action which followed the rebellion, and have perhaps been subject to oversimplification. For much of the period laws were not implemented unless the stability of the whole country was endangered and as a result social change originated from within Highland communities themselves. It is hoped that the study of rentals will indicate differences in these changes and in their rates of development, and will possibly reveal some of the more latent aspects of clanship.

Contemporary lack of interest in the Highlands before the 1745 rising is exemplified by the dearth of written evidence. Owing to the lack of schools, few Highlanders could write, and the majority spoke only Gaelic. Documents which still exist in private hands are mainly to be found in family muniments, and inevitably give a picture of society from the landlords' point of view. Travellers' accounts are therefore extremely valuable, but early ones describe mainly those places accessible by sea. Not until the early eighteenth century can a detailed portrait of Inverness-shire society be obtained from the works of Martin Martin and Edward Burt.

After the rebellion, the transitional nature of society is seen in the numerous descriptions of the shire by knowledgeable - and intrepid -

visitors such as Pennant, Pococke, Johnson and St. Fond. This later evidence can be supplemented by Parish Accounts written by ministers who took part in a statistical survey during the 1790's, and by agricultural treatises. Strictly speaking, all this evidence falls outside the limits of the period, but it can be used to establish the previous social and economic position. This is because post-1745 government policy was primarily aimed at removing landlords' political, judicial and military powers. Social and economic changes coincided, but at a slower pace; for much of the eighteenth century, for example, agricultural methods followed a basic pattern which appears to have been centuries old.

Most of the evidence used to describe society at the beginning of the period will therefore be gathered from later sources. There is no reason to think that it will present a false picture, but it will, unavoidably, contain many generalisations. Burt emphasised that "All parts of the Highlands are not exactly alike, either in the height of the country or the customs of the natives".² As many examples as possible will be drawn from the shire itself. During the early part of the period society appears, without being static, to have been relatively uncomplicated, being composed of communities, largely self-sufficient, in which the standard of living was so low that changes assume a manifest importance. Chapter 1 will attempt to describe the Inverness-shire economy in the early seventeenth century, and Chapter 2 the social structure. It is hoped that these will form a background against which the individual survey of Harris society can be set.

N.B. Throughout the thesis prices will be expressed in Pounds Scots, worth 1/12 of the Pound Sterling, unless indicated otherwise.

CHAPTER 1 - ECONOMIC ASPECTS OF INVERNESS-SHIRE SOCIETY IN THE
SEVENTEENTH CENTURY.

Inverness-shire is enclosed by natural boundaries. The Grampian and Monadhliath mountains separate it from the counties to the east, Rannoch Moor, Glen Coe and the Morvern Hills from those to the south; it is bordered by the sea to the west and north, and by the hills of Easter Ross in the north-west. Within the shire lie well-defined areas of settlement. In the west are the islands of Barra, the Uists, Benbecula, Harris, Skye, Raasay and the Inner Isles. The western coast is deeply indented with sea-lochs, at the head of which valleys wind further inland. Over the rest of the shire a series of mountain ranges lie mainly in a south-west/north-easterly direction, creating a number of parallel valleys.

At the beginning of the period under discussion, these distinct areas of settlement were generally peopled by landlord-tenant groups. Boundaries between estates were loosely fixed by natural objects such as trees or streams. Landlords do not seem to have concerned themselves greatly over exact marches, probably because much of the hill grounds were waste and of little value.¹ Only in the eighteenth century when such lands were gradually brought into use did they seek precise definition.² In any case, it was only during the eighteenth century that surveying was introduced into the shire; until then large areas of land could not be measured.³ Instead, each community area was divided amongst a number of holdings which paid various amounts of rent calculated from a valuation of their agricultural potential. Only a part of each holding was capable of cultivation; the rest was either pasture, valued by the number of animals it could sustain, or waste land.

Holdings across the shire paid rents based on different land valuations, of which the earliest was that based upon the Celtic township, or baile. It consisted of farms paying rent to a landowner in return for the right of cultivation and pasture. The arable area of each township, which would vary according to the fertility of the soil, McKerral suggests was called the 'davoch', and as arable farming became increasingly important the term was used to refer to the township area as a whole.⁴ This seems to have been fairly standardised, both in the number of constituent farms - usually about twenty - and amount of stock;⁵ it was therefore used as the basis for the tax or 'scat' of an ounce of silver paid to the Norsemen. Every farm paid a twentieth of the ounce, called a pennyweight, and its lands were known as a pennyland.⁶ After the discontinuation of the tax, these pennylands were retained as the standard unit of valuation in the Long Island, Skye and parts of the West Coast.⁷

In Lochaber this system was superseded by a valuation based on the feudal practice of Knight Service and its commutation into Knights' Fees. During the thirteenth century, Sheriffs' Assizes calculated the possible agricultural potential of each holding, and assessed it at a proportion of a Knight's Fee, valued at twenty pounds scots, or thirty merks. The valuation was expressed in merks, and became attached to the land; a holding became known, for instance, as a five merkland. During succeeding centuries, the general increase in agricultural production, inflation and debasement of the coinage meant that the original valuation was of little relevance, but increases in rent until the early seventeenth century were in some areas based fairly closely on the 'Valuation of Old Extent'; a five merkland rent would thus be increased threefold or fivefold.⁸

Over the rest of the shire land valuation was based on davochs, plus the Saxon addition of ploughgates. These davochs, though of similar Celtic origin to those in the west, had developed along different lines. In the west the need for standardisation equated the davoch to 20d; in the east the davoch became largely synonymous with a ploughgate (though in some areas, notably Aberdeenshire, it contained four). A ploughgate was originally the area of land which a single ploughteam could cultivate during the year, later standardised at 104 acres, but its connotation was still one of agricultural production rather than surface measurement.⁹

Every land valuation was divisible into smaller units. Ploughgates were composed chiefly of 16 equal parts, pennylands and merklands of four. These units were then used in two ways. Firstly, landlords let large areas of land to tenants, who in turn let smaller holdings to sub-tenants. Secondly, a unit of land was occupied by a group of joint-tenants who paid rent directly to the landowner. Such land was not always shared equally; sons were often given portions of their fathers' holdings.¹⁰ The system of cultivation practised, however, ensured that whether a holding comprised a half or a sixteenth of a tenancy, it received its due proportion of arable and pastureland.

In many parts of the shire it is possible to see fields furrowed by ancient 'run-rigs', long winding strips which follow the hill-slope. Each tenant possessed a number of strips, not usually contiguous, which were periodically re-allocated to distribute the fertile, stony, well-drained and water-logged soil. On the mainland, they were commonly tilled by a four-horse plough,¹¹ but the well-stocked farms provided substitutes, as the team of eight small beasts part oxen, part cows, seen by Burt.¹²

In the islands, the plough seems mainly to have been used on the machair.¹³ Monro in 1549 observed that Harris contained "tways mair of delvit nor of tillit land",¹⁴ and on Taransay the spade was used everywhere except for as much as a one-horse plough could till, estimated to be about 12 acres.¹⁵ On the very fertile island of Berneray the plough was not used, since "there is not one ridge where the plough could go, it is so encumbered with rocks".¹⁶ Instead spades were used to till the rigs, or 'lazy-beds'; the sparse and shallow soil was heaped into mounds above the surface water level and the intervening trenches served as drainage ditches and receptacles for stones and weeds.

The fertility of these rigs was of vital importance. Originally settlements had been sited where the best land occurred, so that the most fertile strips were usually those nearest the houses, and constituted the 'infield' lands of the township. They were fertilised regularly, either with farm manure, or sea-ware.¹⁷ In Harris, where the soil was comparatively fertile, 200 large creels were apparently needed to produce one boll of barley,¹⁸ and it seemed to give only a temporary stimulus to vegetation, without permanently enriching the soil.¹⁹ On the upper slopes, or on pasture land, patches were periodically ploughed, cultivated until the goodness had been exhausted, and left to regain heart. This 'outfield' was fertilised by the manure of beasts who were 'tathed' or folded upon it during the nights of summer and autumn. Temporary folds of wood or turf were moved every eight to ten days to ensure even distribution.²⁰

The rigs were then sown with oats or bere. On the mainland, grey or sma' oats formed two-thirds of the grain crop.²¹ Small and light, it gave

for the most part a return of only three seeds to each one sown, half the yield of the white or great oats of the Lowlands²². Yet its size was advantageous in the wet and windy climate as the grain was not easily shed.²³ It ripened late; if sown in March it was rarely harvested before September, and usually during October and November.²⁴ During these months the rainfall could be so heavy that the crop had to be abandoned, and used as winter fodder for the cattle.²⁵

In the Hebrides bere was the more widespread crop. It possessed two advantages over oats - it gave a greater return per seed, and ripened earlier. Martin cites returns of 20 fold and 30 fold in Berneray, 7-14 fold in Harris and South Uist and 35 and 100 fold in Skye.²⁶ Walker noted that in Harris seeds frequently gave a 20 fold return, sown thinly.²⁷ The reason for this high yield was possibly that while oats were grown on the plough-rigs of the machair-land, bere cultivation of "an almost horticultural intensity" was possible by using the spade on lazy-beds in the central and eastern parts of the islands.²⁸ There seems to have been a tradition, too, that soil which was to produce it was fertilised better, being covered with sea-ware to a depth of six inches.

Bere was sown rather later than oats, usually during late April and May.²⁹ In sheltered places in Lochaber and North Uist it could be reaped as early as August 12th; elsewhere harvesting began in late August and was generally finished by the end of September.³⁰ The greater probability of the bere crop being won before the mists and rain of autumn may have been the reason for the islanders' cultivation of it as a food supply, in addition to using it in the brewing of ale. In the early nineteenth century, nine-tenths of the population of the Long Island, Coll and Tiree used scarcely any other than barley bread.³¹

The proportion of meal to bere paid as rent in the islands is very low, but this could possibly reflect the amounts sown, and the convivial habits of landowners. Bere was also made into bread and broth on the mainland,³² but by the eighteenth century it is evident that here, at least, it was sown primarily as a drink crop.³³ In times of food shortage, it was oatmeal which was supplied to tenants, so it was clearly more nutritious, supporting Martin's statement that brochan - boiled oatmeal and water - with some bread was a constant food during winter.³⁴

In some places Rye was regularly grown as a winter food crop;³⁵ Walker says that it was sown a great deal in Harris, and also in Skye, but was found prejudicial to the light and sandy soil.³⁶ It does seem to have been sown only on the poorest ground, though, where no other grain would give a return.³⁷

Four-fifths of the islanders, according to MacDonald, used their worst grain for the following year's seed.³⁸ This amounted to about a quarter of the crop. A third formed part of the rent, and the rest was stored and baked into bannocks or gruel.³⁹

Until the agricultural improvements of the eighteenth century, harvest returns were so insufficient that people on the mainland were largely meat-eaters.⁴⁰ The criterion of wealth was not the amount of land possessed, but the number of cattle owned by the tenant.⁴¹ Soil and climate were both more suited to a pastoral economy, and while cultivation of grain was a basic necessity, the rearing of cattle provided a cash return. For this reason as many cows as possible were kept, regulated to a certain degree by the practice of 'souming'. In the early eighteenth century a 'soume' was an area of land sufficient

to support four sheep or a full grown cow, with a scale of equivalent values for other animals.⁴² During the seventeenth century, it appears to have meant the right of grazing animals on the common pasture, the number allowed being governed by the size of the tenant's holding, and the kind of animal soumed.⁴³

As tenants kept the maximum number of cattle which could be provided for during the summer rather than the winter months, their condition during the latter period was evidently pitiful. At this time there does not appear to have been any systematic cultivation of hay as a feeding crop, and though in Badenoch and Lochaber there were some areas which gave plentiful supplies, elsewhere land which could produce hay was used for tillage.⁴⁴ Such hay as was harvested during late July, August and September must often have been exhausted by winter, when it was the custom to allow the beasts to roam freely on the arable stubble to gather what food they could. In the islands their diet was supplemented with sea-ware, but by the end of the winter even these cows were so weak that, like cattle on the mainland, they had scarcely enough strength to raise themselves from the barn floor where they were sheltered at night.⁴⁵ The mortality of young stock has been calculated at one in five, probably aggravated by 'bleeding' the already weakened cattle for food.⁴⁶

Herded during the spring sowing, in June the cattle were taken to the higher pastures where they regained their weight and energy on the young grass. In August they returned to the townships where they rested a short while before some made the long journey south to the cattle trysts. Though cattle from the Long Island were smaller than those on the mainland, they were hardier, an advantage when they had to make the longest journeys, and the meat of both kinds was "extremely sweet and succulent".⁴⁷

A cattle trade between the Highlands and Lowlands had existed a long time before the pacification of border territory following the Union of 1603 enabled it to be extended to include England. Statistics are lacking until 1662, but in that year more than 18,000 beasts passed through Carlisle, one of the three customs posts. Between then and the end of the century traffic steadily increased, the prosperity of post-Restoration London stimulating profits despite taxation which by 1698 was approximately three shillings per head.⁴⁸ After a temporary decline in the early eighteenth century cattle exports increased spectacularly; McKy was, in 1723, to observe the sale of 30,000 cattle at Crieff fair, at which English drovers hired "poor creatures", i.e. Highlanders, to drive the animals south for one shilling per day.⁴⁹

"The Highlanders ... yearly come down with their cattle, of which they have greater plenty, and so traffick with the Lowlanders for such proportion of oats and barley as their families or necessities call for".⁵⁰ This account tallies with one made by an English traveller in 1702, who reported "The people of the Lowlands partly depended on the Highlands for cattle to eat, and the Highlanders, in turn, carried back corn, of which their own country did not grow a sufficiency".⁵¹ Though money possibly changed hands, these accounts give the impression of an economy in which there was an element of barter. During the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries this may well have been so as most rents were paid in kind, the silver maill forming only a minor proportion of the total rental.⁵² Other than for this purpose money was almost unnecessary owing to the lack of convenient markets. Where one existed, if Inverness may be taken to provide a typical example, tenants sold cloth or produce, bought utensils and went home with little or no money.⁵³

As early as 1603, however, there are signs that the economy was becoming increasingly cash-orientated. When landowners' ways of life altered, they began to find the lack of money in circulation a disadvantage. They therefore converted many rents from kind, and from the middle of the century regularly used bills of exchange which were redeemable at the fairs in their business transactions.⁵⁴ The conversion of rents more or less coincided with the growth of money imports from England; the cattle trade therefore provided an opportunity for enrichment in a society where there were few other possibilities, and there is evidence that during the seventeenth century tacksmen were already acting as drovers, apparently losing some status within the clan in so doing.⁵⁵

For the majority of tenants, too, the sale of cattle was almost the only way by which they could pay their rents and money teinds, so that "Nothing measured better the health of Highland society than the state of its cattle stocks".⁵⁶ Even on a small farm it was possible to see four or five cows with their 'followers', calves of four successive seasons, though it is generally accepted that they calved approximately four years out of six.⁵⁷ It is evident that stocks of this size would have to be maintained to enable one or two beasts to be sold or slaughtered annually. These comprised 1/5 or 1/6 of the total herd, and a further 1/8 would be lost each winter through starvation.⁵⁸ Animals sold were usually either bullocks of four or five years of age, barren cows, or milk cows who were no longer productive. The latter were sold when aged between seven and 12 years, together with oxen whose workdays were finished.⁵⁹

Cattle also formed part of rents in kind as 'marts'; slaughtered in December they were salted in a cow's hide and kept pretty well.⁶⁰

Though larger tenants paid one or two marts yearly, for most tenants this rent was generally commuted into a money payment based on the size of the holding. By the late seventeenth century when the live animal became of such value, beef was consumed less often, but beasts which died of starvation were probably eaten during the winter and the hides and horns exported or made into brogues or utensils.⁶¹

The daily yield of a milch cow was between one and six scots pints, only a fifth to a half the yield of a Lowland beast but much richer and sweeter.⁶² It has been calculated that a family probably needed at least two cows to supply them with enough milk, butter and cheese, of which the respective average yield was two and four stones of 22 pounds weight per year.⁶³ As 'kitchen', the butter and cheese formed a significant proportion of the rents in kind, and on the islands cheese was commonly preserved with ashes of sea-ware or barley straw, rather than salt.⁶⁴

That tenants almost without exception paid wedders as part of their rents in kind would seem to support Gray's assertion that they were as numerous as cattle.⁶⁵ Ryder goes further, and says that sheep and goats preponderated.⁶⁶ The rentals indicate that large numbers were kept on the more extensive holdings, and even the smallest tenants generally paid one or two wedders and a lamb.⁶⁷ Fleeces from mainland estates were marketed at Inverness and sometimes exported; on the islands most wool was used locally, though Martin speaks of some being carried on horseback to the shires of Moray and Aberdeen.⁶⁸ A farm in Badenoch during the eighteenth century kept 24 sheep for their milk, some of which was made into cheese.⁶⁹ The yield was one pint per day.⁷⁰ A particular feature of this type of sheep was their smallness -

during the winter they were sheltered at night to preserve them from birds of prey and foxes.⁷¹ At this time of year mutton and lamb must also have provided part of the tenants' meat supply, though Sinclair in the eighteenth century observed that less than five pounds of meat was consumed annually by the 'ordinary tenant', and Martin said that though Skye was well-stored with beef and mutton, very little was eaten.⁷²

There is some evidence to show that goat's-meat formed a part of the diet.⁷³ Almost every tenant on the Gordon Estates paid 'ane kyd or lambe' yearly, and though goats do not appear in the MacLeod rentals, Martin Martin states that they were "produc'd" in Skye. A possible reason for this is their contribution to the economy. They were more or less subsistence animals and as only their hides were marketable, their value to a landlord was therefore limited.⁷⁴ Despite Robertson's statement that in the islands they were reared in greater numbers than in any other part of the county,⁷⁵ the evidence suggests that they were more numerous on the mainland. The Old Statistical Account for Harris describes their numbers as "inconsiderable, about 250", and in Snizort a few were kept by the principal farmers. On a Skye farm of 160 cattle and 120 sheep, only 20 goats were kept, yet there were 1,000 goats in the parish of Kilmalie, and though they had been extirpated in Urquhart because of the damage they did to young trees they still lived on the heights of Glenmoriston.⁷⁶ Johnson visited a hut on Loch Ness side in which there was goat's-meat boiling in a kettle and the forester possessed 60 goats as a part of his salary.⁷⁷ Before the eighteenth century, the evidence is largely conjectural, though in an Urquhart rental of 1567 up to 17 kids were payable by tenants. Baron Court Records listing damage to deer forests by tenants' stock do not seem to mention goats, only cattle.⁷⁸ Goat's milk was valuable: it was regarded as a curative,

and provided a sufficient diet for children during the spring months.⁷⁹

Burt describes the general dearth of swine to the insufficiency of household waste as fodder, and his commentator in 1818 to the fact that they were too rich a meat.⁸⁰ Though they are included in the rents of one or two Badenoch mills they do not appear often elsewhere. In 1615, Donald McGillespick visited North Uist with his entourage, and "Mackenzie's good-brother send to the said Coill, being scant of viverse, four horse load of meat in which there were two swine, one salted and one unsalted". Martin Martin mentions them in Skye, but Johnson later wrote that the inhabitants of Skye held pork and bacon in abhorrence, the only hog in the Hebrides that he saw being kept at Dunvegan.⁸¹

Fowls appear in early Gordon and Grant, and later Macleod, rentals. They were evidently kept in large quantities, as they were paid in dozens, though geese were paid singly. As I.F. Grant remarks "The unpalatableness of 'Kain Hens' was proverbial all over Scotland",⁸² and poultry offered to Burt was similarly revolting, being poor, black with smoke and greased with bad butter.⁸³ Travellers generally seem to have relied on eggs as a safe meal, and these also formed part of the rent. Probably hens were kept for their eggs, rather than for household consumption.⁸⁴ Other sources of meat were wildfowl and venison. Moorgame was sold in Inverness when little else was available, and during winter partridges were brought in sackfuls to the market, though there were few during the rest of the year.⁸⁵ Banquets given to travellers included several kinds of birds, such as the "Hens, capons, chickens, partridges, moore-cocks, heath-cocks, caperkellies and termagants" offered to Taylor by Lord Erskin.⁸⁶

Dean Munro's description of Skye stated that there were "maney deire" and "fair hunting games" in the island.⁸⁷ The scale of deer hunts is quite remarkable; Taylor was present at one in the Braes of Mar in 1618 at which 500-600 men drove the deer up to ten miles to the 'Elrick' or killing place, where 80 were slaughtered in two hours.⁸⁸ In 1563 a hunt was arranged in Atholl for the Queen when 2,000 Highlanders drove the herds of deer to an elrick in front of her, and on that occasion 360 were slaughtered as well as five wolves and some roes. Tenants were obliged to attend huntings as part of their services in kind and though it was customary for them to receive a share of the spoil, even the high numbers of deer slain would scarcely provide much meat per tenant. Taylor speaks of deer being quietly despatched before they arrived at the elrick, and the harshness of the forest laws suggest that a good deal of poaching occurred.⁸⁹

Contemporary accounts are unanimous in their descriptions of the abundance and numerous species of fish. An anonymous sixteenth century writer said that Berneray was very fertile of "quhyte fishes"⁹⁰, and Dymes observed that round the islands herring, cod and ling were especially common.⁹¹ Off the Skye coast, there could be caught trout, herrings, cod, ling, mackerel, haddock, whiting, turbot and grey-lord.⁹² Whales and seals were eaten by poorer tenants in spring.⁹³ Salmon seem to have been plentiful round Inverness, so much so that, according to Burt, the meanest servants would not make a meal upon it if they could get anything else.⁹⁴ In the eastern area of the shire they were eaten in large quantities.⁹⁵

During the winter shell-fish were an important source of food. Cockles, oysters large enough to be quartered, clam-shell fish, mussels, limpets, periwinkles and whelks were gathered off the rocks and the sea-bed

during spring tides.⁹⁶ Their value may be seen in that Sir Norman Macleod of Berneray allowed tenants of inland holdings access to a piece of shore in order to gather shell-fish in periods of scarcity.⁹⁷

This abundance led to James VI's attempt to develop a fishing industry in the islands, but like many subsequent ones it failed owing to difficulties in catching, preserving and marketing the fish.

The sixteenth century account says that the people of Harris were "as unskillfull in slaying of the fishes and salmond that cummis as thair neighbours are",⁹⁸ but it is probable that tenants caught enough for their own needs. They were "generally very dextrous" with the oar⁹⁹ and were able to sell a surplus to the Dutch; "at easie rates" reported Dymes, who added that they were "so farr from haveinge the true industry of killinge that fish, that one boat with our Newfoundland men will kill more in a daie then they doe with one of theire boates in a yeare".¹⁰⁰ Martin speaks of tenants angling on the rocks in summer and autumn, and casting herring nets from the shore at night. By 1700, though, he remarked that in all Harris there was not one net to be had.¹⁰¹ The main fishing season was apparently between Christmas and Easter, and Johnson noted "Unhappily in the winter, when other provision fails, the seas are commonly too rough for nets or boats". If his observations can be applied generally, few boats had benches and heaps of brushwood served as seats which must have been uncomfortable on fishing expeditions lasting as long as the nine or 10 hours which Martin implies was usual.¹⁰²

The tenants' reluctance to export fish seems to have been largely due to disabilities in preserving them. Salt was prohibitively expensive, especially when taxed, and during the sixteenth century

fillets were eaten fresh and the rest used as fertiliser.¹⁰³

Herring were gutted and dried in pairs on ropes across the house-roofs; the peat smoke would perhaps cure them to some extent, and if caught after the tenth of September they would keep for eight months. Mackerel were preserved "for some time" in ashes of burnt sea-weed. It was not possible to keep saithe, which remained fresh for one day only.¹⁰⁴

During the eighteenth century some of the larger tenants began to participate in the development of the Inverness fishing industry.¹⁰⁵

Burt speaks of the Inverness herring boats and nets being kept in a bad condition, but also mentions a little later that "sometimes they export pretty handsome quantities of pickled salmon", which accords with the frequent entries in Stuart's Letter Book, some of which show Skye tenants exporting herring and salmon.¹⁰⁶ Until then, though, there is very little evidence, especially about smaller tenants.

Probably the best indication of their attitude is that fishing traditions in the Highlands are few, in contrast with those of hunting.¹⁰⁷

Widespread conditions of want, squalor and overcrowding were responsible for the recurrent outbreaks of smallpox, first noted in Aberdeen in 1610.¹⁰⁸ By the early eighteenth century, the disease was endemic. There is evidence to show that inoculation was practised earlier than anywhere, "in some parts of the highlands of Scotland, where they inject their children by rubbing them with a kindly pox as they term it".¹⁰⁹ Smallpox was particularly lethal to young children, but there are signs that it could also attack men and women. The Glenelg rental of 1755 contains many new tenants suggesting that, of the 200 who caught the disease the previous year, former occupants

had been amongst the 140 who succumbed. In 1763, 183 children and 34 adults were inoculated in the valley, and 324 in Skye.¹¹⁰ The devastating effect of an epidemic is illustrated by the one which occurred in St. Kilda in the early eighteenth century; a typhus brought to the island in some clothes caused the deaths of half the population.¹¹¹

Apart from smallpox, illnesses do not seem to register on the rentals. Martin said that inhabitants enjoyed good health and long lives, and the length of tenancies would seem to support him. He attributes these to a simple diet, and the monotony does not appear to have caused malnutrition; dulse was used as an antiscorbutic to offset the lack of vegetables.¹¹² Almost complete dependence upon grain and stock for both food and rent was perilous, though, in that both were at the mercy of the climate. The chief danger to health, therefore, came from starvation; since tenants were dependent upon grain returns and had few reserves, there was little difference in degree between scarcity and famine. If the harvest failed, nuts, berries and sea-weed were gathered and supplemented by cheese and butter, though a surfeit of the latter caused the flux.¹¹³ The grain that was salvaged from the harvest was eaten during the winter, rather than kept for the following year's seed store; a little was often mixed with the blood of cattle and made into bannocks. If an already weak animal perished it provided meat, but meant a loss of revenue the following year. These short term measures partly explain the numerous consecutive years of scarcity.¹¹⁴

Effects of food shortage were aggravated by lack of communications. Grain was imported to the islands by boat, and Inverness merchants traded in meal, sending it to all parts of the shire.¹¹⁵ Inland, difficulties of transport were severe; for instance in the early years

of the eighteenth century the inhabitants of Turriff in Aberdeenshire "reduced to misery, had neither money to purchase nor horses to carry" victual from the Formartine and Buchan district where there was a grain surplus.¹¹⁶

Until marketing conditions improved this type of shortage was mostly unavoidable. Unfortunately, inhabitants in certain areas of the shire had also to contend with the famine which accompanied devastation by neighbours or troops. Districts worst affected were those which straddled lines of communication, as Badenoch and Lochaber, or were especially fruitful, as Urquhart and Glenmoriston. In 1688 Dunachton was raided by Coll McDonald; the tenants were reduced to "beggaries", the lands laid waste "and will so continue until the petitioner be in a condition to replenish them".¹¹⁷ General Monk wrote "In all our march from Glenroy wee burnt the houses and cottages of the MacMartins and others in arms"; his troops stole 500 cows, sheep and goats which had been sheltering in a Kintail Glen.¹¹⁸ In 1745 Glenmoriston inhabitants were subjected to such ravages that "having suffered much both by hunger and cold, so in the ensuing winter 1746 a great mortality happened among them".¹¹⁹

Islanders were protected to some extent by their isolated position, since they were less involved in political struggles.¹²⁰ Until the Statutes of Icolmkil were implemented, however, there occurred sporadic raids amongst neighbouring islanders; for instance, in 1601 many inhabitants of Harris were killed, and their cattle stolen, by MacDonalds from Skye.¹²¹ Isolation could also contribute to poverty. In the late sixteenth century men from St. Kilda could not be spared for hunting or fighting as, "poor barbarous people", they were needed to labour the ground, to help to pay MacLeod's rent of 60 bolls victual, besides sheep and fowls.¹²²

Poverty, famine and devastation were important elements in landlord-tenant relations. In theory tenants held their land by a tack or lease, generally unwritten, which included the proviso that non-payment of rent led to eviction.¹²³ The standard of living was so low, however, that in a crisis most tenants would be affected and in these circumstances landlords were accustomed to remit their rents, either partially or wholly, or to allow the arrears to run on for a number of years. For example, returns from the Grant Estates during the mid-seventeenth century were only half the rental,¹²⁴ and later, owing to devastation, the laird's tenants "were so impoverished that he got little or no rent for several years out of his lands in Strathspey; and he was necessitat to discharge his tennents in Urquhart the entire rent of that Barony, which is 6,000 pounds Scots, and that for the year 1689, 1690, 1691, 1692 and 1693, their stocks being so entirely carried away that they could not continue to labour without that abatement".¹²⁵

In years of famine, landlords sometimes imported oatmeal which they distributed amongst the tenantry.¹²⁶ Some years were ones of shortage, "a situation where a substantial minority run the risk of starvation and a lot of people will go short". In such cases landlords might also provide for their tenants.¹²⁷ There were undoubtedly many instances, though, in which only a few tenants would be unable to pay their rents, possibly through illness or old age. Landlords' treatment of such tenants provides a clue to the relationship between them, though it must be related to the rise in population. When eviction meant an empty holding, they were probably more likely to allow arrears than if there was a possibility of suitable replacement tenants.¹²⁸

During the seventeenth century, it appears that tenants were generally allowed to pay their arrears the following year or years, which many seem able to have done; it was only during the eighteenth century that they were in danger of being evicted.¹²⁹ Until then, the benevolent attitude of landowners suggests that tenants enjoyed a relationship with them which exceeded the economic basis, and that the cash nexus was subordinated to other interests. The following chapter will seek to explore this relationship, and how it developed during the period.

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CHAPTER 1

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CHAPTER 2 - CULTURAL ASPECTS OF INVERNESS-SHIRE SOCIETY IN THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY.

In the Highlands and some lowland districts a landlord-tenant group was called a 'clan'. Identified by an individual surname, e.g. Macleod or Grant, it possessed distinctive traits and was "an adaptable and changeable institution. Its organisation was shaped rather by present needs than by ancient tradition".¹ Thus the overall concept of clan-ship is not readily defined, although a description of some of its constituent features should illustrate its importance in society.

Not all clans were groups of landlords and tenants occupying an estate. Some, as the MacGregors and Grants of Glenmoriston, survived after they had been ejected from their lands, and others occupied territories to which they had no legal right. In some instances tenants belonged to a different clan from that of their landlord, particularly where estates were widespread and scattered such as those belonging to the Gordon family.² Nevertheless, for the majority of clans territorial connexions were strong and stability reflected by regular payments of rent. It is therefore intended to avoid confusion by using the terms 'landlord' and 'tenant' rather than 'chief' and 'clansman' throughout the thesis though the latter definitions may be equally appropriate in some contexts.

A fundamental characteristic of a clan was the idea of kinship that existed between a landlord and his tenantry through a common ancestor in the remote past. This ancestor and his immediate descendants may well have been mythical, but they were nonetheless relevant to clan society since to them were ascribed the qualities of bravery, strength and loyalty which were still necessary if the clan was to prosper. Landlords especially were exhorted by clan bards, or poets, to emulate

their ancestors in protecting their tenantry from danger and want by the exercise of patriarchal authority. A typical ode is one written on the death of Iain Mor MacLeod in 1649. Iain is eulogised in stanzas which compare him to leaders in ancient folklore; they describe his personality and emphasise the protection he gave his followers - "It was his privilege to protect his clan, to guard them against violence and lawlessness, to maintain truth among them, to aid their land in prosperity".³ The poem also describes the mourning of his kinsfolk. The veneration in which landlords were held impressed travellers,⁴ but was unsurprising in a society where the existence of a clan depended largely on the qualities of its leader.⁵ On a winter's night there was little else to do but gather round a fire and listen to odes and stories with which tenants could identify themselves through kinship or locality.⁶ Far from being a quaint folksy habit, these tales had great social importance as indicated by the fact that bards were prohibited in the Statutes of Icolmkill which attempted to break the clan spirit.⁷

In their eulogies of landlords these stories had the effect of increasing tenants' loyalty through a desire to be associated with them. This explains why sennachies or genealogists were of such importance. They were held in high esteem, sat amongst the nobles and chiefs of families and "By the force of their eloquence they had a powerful ascendant over the greatest men in their time".⁸ Their function was to unite landlord and tenant by recounting their relationship within the clan. A good example of a Highland genealogy was written by Sir Aeneas MacPherson in the early eighteenth century;⁹ its wealth of detail supports Douglas of Glenbervie's opinion that sennachies "were particularly careful and exact" and that their accounts were as reliable as histories.¹⁰

Genealogies were probably correct since tenants themselves were so conscious of, and knowledgeable about, their ancestry. Almost everyone was a genealogist of sorts.¹¹ During the late nineteenth century there were 1,937 people living in the neighbourhood of Garth who claimed to be directly descended from the Wolf of Badenoch who settled there in 1390.¹² The system of patronymics also contributed to a feeling of identification with the past in that tenants were called after the names and qualities of two, three or even four of their immediate ancestors, and should the relationship be clear, they might be recognised solely by the name of the founder of their family.¹³

This stress on the historical aspect of society enhanced the sennachies' position since they represented tradition - they demonstrated that, in the past, the strength and prestige of a clan had subsisted in kinship and co-operation between landlord and tenant. When conditions in the shire resembled those of former times these traditions were still of relevance, but Martin's statement above suggests that by 1700 society had changed and they were no longer applicable.

The second important piece of evidence to indicate that landlord - tenant relations exceeded the economic basis is provided by fosterage. This is fairly difficult to understand as so few written examples survive, and most of these are from the South-West Highlands.¹⁴ The custom seems, however, to have been an ancient one as it is described in detail in the *Senchus Mor*, the code of Irish Laws compiled in the ninth or tenth century, in a broadly similar way to that practised in early seventeenth-century Scotland. Though there were variations a common method appears that a landlord gave his children to a tacksman within, or a friend or fellow-landlord outside the clan to be brought up for a specific term

of years. At the end of this period the children returned to their families or attended school. With the child, the landlord gave a number of animals which was duplicated by the foster-parent. This stock was called the 'macalive', and together with any increase was the child's property. From this custom there resulted "a bond of union and endearment in the highest degree beneficial to all parties".¹⁵

Within the clan children were invariably fostered with people of inferior social rank, either a tacksmen or a tenant.¹⁶ As I.F. Grant observed "It may seem strange that the privilege of doing so much for a child for apparently a negligible return should have been eagerly sought for, but this was so".¹⁷ The Senchus Mor says that inferiors, instead of expecting any reward, purchased the honour of fostering the children of the rich; this honour, especially in early charters, seems to have been sufficient recompense. Foster-parents did benefit to a certain extent. They enjoyed increased status within the clan,¹⁸ and were provided for in distress and old age.¹⁹ In early charters of the Campbells of Glenurchy the landlord also bound himself to protect the foster-family, but by the seventeenth century this clause disappeared, probably owing to the more secure possession of property, or bonds being granted by less powerful landlords. Protection was replaced by an annual payment for the child's board, usually twenty pounds scots or two bolls of meal.²⁰

Material gains to the foster-parent were nevertheless small, and offset by the macalive. From his own stock he duplicated the animals given by the child's father, though any milk was his and should he not possess sufficient pasture it was provided free by the landlord. When the macalive was cattle, four or five were usually given by either side, together with one or two horses, and when mares, about a dozen constituted

the whole stock.²¹ In later charters the macalive was sometimes money. The Laird of MacLeod and the foster-father in 1637 both gave a thousand merks, the increase to come from its being used "upone land or annal rent"²². This increase was usually the absolute property of the child, though in Mull the fosterer received half.²³ By this means a landlord provided for his offspring, since for sons stock was a tangible form of wealth, and for daughters it provided a contribution to their marriage dowries.²⁴

There are indications that the purpose of the macalive was partly symbolic. It stood initially for close relations between landlord and tenant since each gave equal portions of stock, and secondly for the provision by the tenantry, represented by the foster-parent, of a share of the patrimony of their future landlord. This idea is strengthened by evidence that it was always the custom for a foster-child to be given a portion of the inheritance of its foster-parents, stated as "a bairnis part of gear".²⁵ This is largely speculation, though. In a charter of 1637 the purpose of the macalive was clearly stated to be that "the said Johne MacLeod be the better prouydeit of meanes at his perfeit age".²⁶

Since a landlord's son could eventually become landlord himself, the foster-parent assumed some responsibility for the future of the clan. The charge was not treated lightly. In the charter referred to above, John MacLeod "for the love favor and respect he caryes and bears" gave his third son to be fostered with the Minister of Sleat, who in recompense for this love bound himself "be the faith and trewth in his body to foster, mantane, intertane and upbringing the said Jon McLeod junior in the fear of God and in all manner requisite to his equall".²⁷ Fosterage was closely akin to adoption in that the foster-parent had

complete authority of the child, e.g. MacLeod "lattis, gyves and delyvers" his son. The Minister could well have influenced the character of Iain Breac, who was described as a most hopeful, wise youth.²⁸ Landlords were consequently very careful in their selection of foster-families and it was probably as a result of this that there was hardly a case of the tie being dishonoured.²⁹ An illustration of this care is seen in the contract of fosterage in 1614 between Rory MacLeod and John MacKenzie alias Campbell in Harris. Norman, Rory's third son, was given to him and his spouse in fosterage. If John died first, the child was to remain with his foster-mother under the guardianship of John's brother Angus Campbell. If the widow remarried, Norman was to live with Angus, and if he should die, with his relation Donald MacKenzie.³⁰

Children were probably seven or eight years old when they were fostered, although the exact age is difficult to determine. Burt says it was when they were taken from their nurse,³¹ but it was apparently later in the households of the Campbells of Glenurchy.³² Sir Norman MacLeod cannot have been very old in 1614 as he died in 1705; Iain Breac's date of birth is unknown, but in the charter he is described as a 'pupill'. It seems to have been customary that they were fostered for seven years, or in Irish Law until they were of marriageable age, which was 14 for girls and 17 for boys. The effect of the Statutes of 1616 is seen in the charter of 1637 when Iain Breac was to be fostered "quhill he be apt for schoolis".³³

Instead of being fostered within the clan, children were sometimes sent to fellow-landlords, or friends, or brought up in court. During the sixteenth century Mary MacLeod attended court and Torquil Conanach's son John "was bred with the Earl of Huntly". A young MacKintosh of

Mackintosh was educated by a family of Ogilvies and then by Lord Cassilis.³⁴
In the late seventeenth century Simon Fraser of Lovat was brought up
at Dunvegan and Iain Breac possibly helped to pay for his education
at Inverness and Aberdeen.³⁵

Children of tenants were also brought up with tacksmen, or in the land-
lord's household. Mary Macleod, the poetess, was fostered at Ullinish
and is then said to have been attached to the household of Rory Mor.³⁶
If a child was fostered with a landlord's friend, it was probably "to
obtain the advantages of a wise man's teaching, or a skilled man's
training".³⁷ The custom of sending children outside the clan was very
possibly caused by a need to maintain friendly relations with another
clan; it was a form of diplomatic service which could influence the
following generation of landlords. Within the clan, service to the
landlord was emphasised and contact maintained amongst separate districts.
Fosterage also had this effect - the fostering of Sir Norman united the
districts of Dunvegan, Harris and Berneray which was given to him as
his patrimony.

If a child was fostered within the clan the foster-father was unlikely
to be a stranger, since landlords and tacksmen were associates.
Furthermore, children of landlords were apparently neglected until
they were six or seven, which gave rise to the saying that "A gentleman's
bears are to be distinguished (only) by their speaking English".³⁸
Burt thought a group of dirty, half-naked children those of a tenant,
but they belonged to his landlord host. Their condition contrasted
with that of the young laird of 14, about to go to University, and the
clean and genteelly-dressed daughter of 16.³⁹ The care and attention
lavished on the child might therefore be a pleasant change, and tacksmen
were better acquainted with their superiors' ways of life than others

of a similar status elsewhere so that "no habits of meanness or vulgarity were contracted from such an education".⁴⁰

A child used to living in a castle would, however, find a great difference in the accommodation provided by a tackman's house, since it was usually only a larger version of that occupied by an ordinary tenant. Delicacy of food, clothing and accommodation was not the object of fostering, though; children were, in being introduced to new companions and placed in new surroundings, made to understand the feelings and way of life of a class different from their own.⁴¹ It meant that "they later took an interest in the affairs of people amongst whom they had spent their childhood, those years to which all look back with fond regret".⁴² This result is corroborated by an eighteenth century writer who said that children, in enjoying the pleasures of their father's house and neighbourhood, later would have "wherever they do resort, still a Desire and Goodwill to their own native country".⁴³ A possible illustration is provided by Sir Norman MacLeod, who, when very old, purchased a wadset of lands in Harris, where he had spent his youth.⁴⁴

Fosterage thus made a significant contribution to a landlord's regard for his lands and people. Relations between the foster-child and foster-family were undoubtedly very close, as is seen in the Highland sayings "Kindred to twenty degrees (of love and affection), fosterage to a hundred degrees", and "Woe to the father of the foster-brother who is unfaithful to his trust".⁴⁵ Yet while effects and results of fosterage are sufficiently clear, little is known of its origins. Grierson, speaking of the foster relationship, said that it "owed nothing to either consanguinity or affinity", but that kinship was involved because rights and duties inherent in an uncivilised people were unthinkable

apart from kinship, and rights were a matter not of contract but of status.⁴⁶ The theory was also propounded that though fosterage could only have arisen following the recognition of different degrees of social status within a tribe, it may have been a relic of a former state of affairs when "the tribe's free members were in a state of independence and equality with each other".⁴⁷ In such a society all children would be of equal stature and later, as unaffected by rights as by responsibilities, they could have been regarded as being one homogenous section of the community. It can, though, be regarded only as a theory and it seems unlikely to have been the sole origin of the practice.⁴⁸ However, as Curle concludes "There must have been something beneficial in a custom which bound in such close bonds of affection the different classes of the community".⁴⁹

Non-economic ties between landlord and tenant are probably best seen in the context of mutual defence. In the uncertain political climate of the early seventeenth century a tenancy was only as permanent as the amount of force available to secure it, and armed strength was even more necessary in a clan which occupied lands to which it had no legal right. An example of this is the territory of Glenlui and Locharkaig in Lochaber which belonged to MacKintosh by Crown Charter. The land was inhabited by Camerons and MacDonells, and MacKintosh was unable to remove them. In this, as in other instances, the owner was the occupier.⁵⁰

Military strength was necessary, too, to protect tenants' holdings and property from raiders, especially in fertile areas. Glenurquhart was particularly vulnerable, and since a regular line of communication passed through it marauders and troops tended to regard it as a food store. In 1624, for example, the Men of Clan Chattan invaded the

Earl of Moray's lands and returned home through the Glen "taking their mete and food perforce qher they could not get it willingly fra freindis allswell as fra their faes".⁵¹

Competition for land was the cause of many quarrels, an indication of a rise in population on estates over-stocked by fighting-men.⁵² By the beginning of the seventeenth century, however, raiding was becoming sporadic and more a symptom of a society permeated by martial spirit,⁵³ such as the raids organised by young chiefs to prove their qualities of leadership.⁵⁴ Yet since it was not war but the possibility of, and preparation for, warfare which pervaded society, this martial spirit was always present throughout the period. An English writer observed in 1750 "About 150 years ago, the Gordons were a strong and warlike clan, and could bring of their Vassals and Tenants above 3,000 men into the Field, but they are now so greatly Degenerated that all the other Highland Clans despise them".⁵⁵

Huntly's fighting tenantry were a powerful force wit in the confines of the Highlands. MacDonald of Keppoch, on being asked his income, replied "I can call out and command 500 men".⁵⁶ Tenants were also compared to wealth by Lord Lovat in 1632, who referred to his men as his ammunition, guard, glory and honour.⁵⁷ A late sixteenth century description stated that 1200 men could be raised by Lord MacDonald from his lands in Trotternish and Sleat. MacLeod could command 380 men from Skye, 140 from Harris, 60 from Berneray and 20 or 24 from Heisker. The island of Pabbay, which is only one and a half square miles, was able to send 40 "gude men to the weiris".⁵⁸

Landlords claimed absolute leadership of these men in battle - in 1745 the Chief of Grant was to say "I can't conceive the least tittle

any man can have to command any of my vassals or tenants but myself".⁵⁹ He suggested summoning clans in the usual way, rather than by forming independent companies as he believed that the lower class of Highlanders had an aversion to fighting under anyone but their chief.⁶⁰ Evidently the situation differed in practice. On his own estate of Urquhart the tenantry followed the three senior tacksmen in joining the Prince.⁶¹ Macleod also had great difficulty in gathering his tenants to fight for the Government. If the story is true he was obliged to allow them to wear the White Cockade on the march south from Skye in the face of refusal to enlist. Many returned to their homes after the battle of Inverurie, and Macleod wrote to President Forbes "I own it makes me all but mad to be so disgraced by my own People and it is the more severe that I am conscious to myself, I do not deserve it at their hands and it was what I did not in the least look for".⁶²

This desertion was not, however, unprecedented. Tenants were obliged to attend 'hoistings' as part of their services, and security of tenure was dependent on landlords' good-will. Discipline was very lax though, "What held the men together ... was clannishness rather than hard or fast domination".⁶³ Thus when fighting was not essential to protect land or property it was difficult to keep them continuously in the field; they were more concerned with winning their livelihood.⁶⁴ Gregory alludes to the difficulty of gathering a lowland army during the harvest months,⁶⁵ and many Highlanders deserted Montrose before Philipshaugh to cut their peats and rethatch their houses.⁶⁶ Unless a plentiful supply of replacement tenants was available, the landlord had little redress.

That tacksmen generally supported their landlords' policies is evident from a 'Letter of Address' which 15 from Skye wrote to console Macleod.

They testified to their loyalty, deplored the desertions and promised to bring numbers of men "loyal to their chief and the cause he had espoused to the last drop of their blood".⁶⁷ Berneray was not among the signatories though; on being summoned to attend with his quota of tenants, he had sent the number to which MacLeod was entitled but himself had joined the Prince.⁶⁸

These episodes illustrate the importance of tacksmen to the clan. One feature of the clan system was "class immobility ... a rigid framework with guaranteed incomes and positions",⁶⁹ and it is exceptional to hear of a tenant bettering himself permanently.⁷⁰ Tacksmen were usually the only men who possessed the organising ability to act as officers and it was thus consequently both in the landlord's interest, and prestigious, to have as many tacksmen as possible.⁷¹ Large numbers were a characteristic of clans such as the Gordons, Grants, MacKenzies and Campbells. In 1566 there were 22 Gordon tacksmen, and 31 in 1594, "a great source of strength ... showing the solidarity of the clan", particularly necessary in these instances.⁷² The relationship between a landlord and his more isolated tenants was normally fairly remote, unlike that of tacksmen, who at this period usually lived amongst the tenantry and in many cases, if granted wadsets, were their immediate landlords. The landowner therefore depended upon them to disseminate the feeling of clanship so that tenants would be inspired to respond.⁷³

A landlord also relied on his tacksmen to act as estate administrators; McKerral describes them as "Professional Men".⁷⁴ In his absence one of their chief duties was to preside over Baron Courts.⁷⁵

In the system of provincial government, landlords were acknowledged to be the judicial heads of their clans, and as such were held responsible

for their good behaviour. Major landowners were also expected to use their influence to maintain friendly relations amongst lesser clans, and in an emergency to quell uprisings.⁷⁶ Though an expedient, it did possess some advantages. Owing to the inaccessibility of the Highlands, for much of the time landlords were the sole providers of security. The Government was powerless to prevent feuds, and even on occasions incited a troublesome clan in the hope that it would be destroyed.⁷⁷ In domestic crises it was equally callous: "Experience hath too frequently taught us, that when the Turn of a Ministry is served, and they have secured themselves, they take very little care of those who have suffered for the Government. Poor people scarce know any other Sovereign but their Superior, or Head of their Clan".⁷⁸

The existing relationship between a landlord and his tenantry was ideally suited to the system of Heritable Jurisdictions in that a right to obedience was exacted in return for the provision of protection. An example of this is provided by MacKintosh, who in the late sixteenth century was the head of a clan of whom some members, the tenants of other landlords, "gave litill gude obeydience to any ordinar law & justice". The Privy Council censured him for their lawlessness "although had they understood that he was offended with them, they durst not have oppressed the meanest subject in the country".⁷⁹ It also illustrates the problems which could arise when loyalties were divided though more trouble was caused by 'broken men', i.e. those who owed allegiance to no-one and who therefore had to protect themselves in a turbulent society.

In most districts of the shire a piece of land was reserved for use as 'ane fenced court', at which both civil and criminal cases were heard before the 'Baron Baillie', who held absolute power of life and

death and against whose judgements there was no appeal. The possibilities of despotic and arbitrary decisions are well described by Burt and Johnson,⁸⁰ but the overall impression is that these courts functioned reasonably well.

In many courts the tenantry were obliged to attend, presumably with the intention of seeing justice done, and in some they acted as a jury.⁸¹ A minister was apparently present in Island Courts.⁸² For offences such as deer-slaying or theft a man's reputation might affect his case which was of great importance when a second or third conviction could incur the death penalty. Baron Courts in Strathspey, which may be taken as typical, dealt with the offences of deer and sheep stealing, salmon poaching, illicit wood-cutting and tree-marking (for preserving hides), the pasturing of beasts in woods, and - with almost monotonous regularity - "bluidletting". The most usual penalty was a fine, and though it went to the landlord, amounts had to be realistic and many were sums of Scots shillings.⁸³

Other duties of the courts concerned the administration of the estate. They regulated wages and prices, granted decreets of moving, escheated tenants' goods and issued orders concerning trades and fairs.⁸⁴ They also adjudicated in tenants' disputes. Plaintiff and defendant both stated their case, produced witnesses and obtained an immediate decision.⁸⁵ If the landlord's affairs were involved the outcome might be affected, but patently unfair judgements would only arouse a resentment which was not likely to be in his best interest. In the great majority of cases it appears that "Landlords, responsible for and dependent upon the loyalty and well-being of their tenants, applied with reasonable if rough equity the rules of right and wrong".⁸⁶

Many estates were made up of joint holdings, pieces of land worked by several tenants who were not necessarily closely related. Successful cultivation depended on "good neighbourhood" - the honesty and willingness of each tenant to contribute his share of the farm labour.⁸⁷ This was especially required where the run-rig system was used, and beasts herded in common. In such a close-knit society there were bound to be disputes, which were resolved by 'birleymen', i.e. 'by' or town law men. Besides acting as arbiters in agricultural disputes, they dealt with the day-to-day running of the estate. They calculated the amount of rent or labour dues payable by each tenant, assessed improvements, determined the rights of incomers and valued the unthreshed or 'proof' corn (in some districts they were called 'pruif-men').⁸⁸ As this work involved much responsibility, birleymen were usually older tenants whose experience of agricultural methods and problems and knowledge of customs were respected in a society which largely followed tradition.⁸⁹ In the islands their functions were probably carried out by 'Ground Officers'. Their reliability is illustrated by the fact that to dispute their verdict apparently left a stain upon a man's character.⁹⁰

By these methods, estates could be administered efficiently and tenants protected and controlled by the enforcement of their landlord's own decrees. Supplemented by ties of clanship each estate was a relatively self-sufficient community. Heritable Jurisdictions, however, contributed to political tension since landlords were simultaneously clan leaders and feudal officials. As the latter they owed loyalty and obedience to the crown, and to them were delegated absolute powers in the administration of their estates.⁹¹ "A grant of regality took as much out of the crown as the Sovereign could give. It was, in fact, investing the grantee in the Sovereignty of the territory".⁹² Yet a landlord owed his position to the clan which claimed rights and obligations from him,

chiefly the preservation of the clan itself. The dual nature of his position thus resulted in conflict. If as leader he strengthened his clan by encouraging broken men to join it, he offended against the feudal code; if he jeopardised the clan's existence by acting as a member of the feudal hierarchy, for instance by evicting troublesome tenants who were good fighters, the clan members might feel entitled to depose him as occurred in the clans Mackintosh, MacDonald of ClanRanald and MacDonnell of Keppoch.

The feudal system of government depended on close supervision of lieges. During the Middle Ages the English Crown had achieved this by periodically summoning nobles to court and by travelling round the kingdom on royal eyres. The Scottish Monarchy did neither, and as landlords were unwilling to leave their estates, contact was minimal. Lacking any strong sense of loyalty to the crown, landlords therefore subordinated feudal obligations to clan interests which resulted in a disorder the government found difficult to suppress.

Feudalism and patriarchalism themselves flourished only in the absence of a powerful monarchy.⁹³ In the sixteenth century there occurred three lengthy minorities, and Mary Queen of Scots possessed little direct authority. Feudalism therefore survived, but it was anachronistic. In England, for example, the crown had established royal control by destroying the feudal system. It removed the military basis of the nobles' power, separated estates to prevent strong local influence and gained the loyalty of tenants by encouraging nationalism. Not until the reign of James VI did the crown adopt a systematic and constructive policy of increasing central political power. From then until 1745 there occurred a gradual and uncertain process by which clans were modified by economic forces which accompanied improved law and order in the

Highlands. The rest of the chapter illustrates the methods used to achieve political control, and how their contribution added to social change.

The clan was a warlike society, and in emergencies the Crown met violence with violence. In 1607 Huntly received a commission to reduce the North Isles, except for Skye and the Lewes, in which he undertook to end his service "not by agreement with the countrey people, bot by extirpation of them".⁹⁴ Genocide was prevented only by the King's withdrawal of Huntly's protection (he had offered "a very mean dewtie" as rent), whereupon the King's Advocate had charged him with religious misconduct and restricted his movements. The Proscription of the MacGregors in 1603 and the Massacre of Glen Coe in 1692 are other instances where "thieving tribes" were "rooted out and cut off".⁹⁵

By measures such as these, and the use of devastation, the Crown always succeeded in eventually forcing submission. It could not consistently hold down the Highlands, though, until effective peace-keeping methods were established. The first of these was the General Band of 1587 in which landlords were obliged to keep good rule within their clans, and if necessary had to deliver law-breakers and rebels. Heavy financial penalties were imposed for infringements, and its success meant that the Highlands were largely quiescent during the early seventeenth century.⁹⁶ This method of provincial government retained the status quo, however, so that in the 1640's political unrest was followed by a return to lawlessness. Cromwell's pacification of the North achieved more permanent results. Using devastation and force to subdue clans, he "civilised them by conquest and introduced by useful violence the arts of peace".⁹⁷ Measures included the establishment of garrisons at Inverness and Inverlochy linked by the 'Highland Galley' on Loch Ness,

the institution of J.P.'s on the English system, and the renewal of the General Band. Though the Restoration initiated a period of disorder, raids occurred on a smaller scale, confined by the presence of troops in the shire. This physical reminder of the Government's authority was reinforced by the building of barracks at Fort Augustus, Berneray, Ruthven and Inverness, and the building of a system of roads to serve them during the early eighteenth century.⁹⁸

Landowners were obliged during the Commonwealth to pay a land tax, or Cess. The appointment of collectors meant that payment had to be made regularly, and defaulters had troops quartered upon them.⁹⁹ This sums up the landlords' position; no longer could they behave with impunity, relying on inaccessibility and armed strength. The military basis for their powers as leaders was consequently undermined, and by 1700 Martin refers to chieftains, retinues and formalities as things of the previous generation.¹⁰⁰ Landlords' administrative functions were also reduced by Justices of the Peace and Commissioners of Supply who assumed responsibility for taxation, communication, schools and, eventually, public health.¹⁰¹ Instead they took an increasing role in the public life of the shire outwith the clan - the Lairds of Grant, MacLeod and Lovat were all Members of Parliament during the seventeenth century.

Social, as opposed to political, measures were instituted in 1609. The Statutes of Iona aimed to reduce the disturbed state of society by means of provisions which stated, amongst others, that no-one was to live in the Islands unless he could maintain himself, and bards, vagabonds, beggars and sorners were forbidden. More inns were planned, and imported wine prohibited to the lower classes of tenants. Retinues were curtailed, the carrying of firearms banned, and the number of ministers increased.¹⁰² These clauses were repeated, and

in some cases expanded in 1616. Additionally, no landowner could have more than one birlinn, or war galley, and was to live permanently at one place where a home farm had to be cultivated.¹⁰³

The Statutes' greatest contribution to social change was perhaps that they introduced to lowland society landowners, their children, and those of the more wealthy tenants (i.e. those owning goods worth sixty cattle). Landlords, as well as finding sureties for their clans' good behaviour, were obliged to report personally to the Privy Council each year, and until the late 1630's the provision was rigidly enforced.¹⁰⁴ Children also grew up in Lowland society. The Statutes of 1616 clarified the earlier set and specified that on reaching the age of nine years they were to be sent to school in the Lowlands until they could speak, read and write English, and could not inherit otherwise. This provision seems to have been followed. Rory Mor's sons attended Glasgow University,¹⁰⁵ Sir James Grant of Freuchie and his brothers were educated at Aberdeen,¹⁰⁶ and sons of Gordon landowners and tackemen often went to Douai School; "The foreign upbringing they received may explain why many of them remained in Europe all their lives".¹⁰⁷

Other landowners also spent an increasing amount of time away from their estates. Sir John Grant of Freuchie lived in Edinburgh "in profuse and expensive style",¹⁰⁸ as did his son James according to bills surviving from visits made after the Restoration.¹⁰⁹ Accounts from Glasgow, Edinburgh and London indicate that Rory Mir and Iain Breac MacLeod were frequently in the South and Rory Mir was described as a "prodigal vitious spendthrift".¹¹⁰

"Sucked into the vortex of the nation and allured to the capitals they (the chiefs) degenerated from patriarchs and chieftains to

landlords, and they became anxious for increase of rent".¹¹¹ With the deprivation of their traditional roles in society, much of the landlord-tenant relationship outwith the purely economic factor disappeared. There was no particular need for tenants' good-will, so landowners could look for the highest returns possible. There were three ways of achieving this - increased sale of cattle, better estate administration and the raising of rents. The implementation of the first two methods closely involved the function and status of tacksmen.

By the mid-seventeenth century the tacksmen's military contribution to society had been made redundant by improved law and order, and the increasing use of shire levies.¹¹² Instead, the more settled state of the Highlands encouraged them to concentrate on commerce and droving. For instance, two late seventeenth century Harris tacksmen, Angus MacKenzie, alias Campbell, and Roderick Campbell of Taransay possessed boats which traded with Glasgow, Ireland and Holland,¹¹³ and a participation in the fishing industry has already been noted. Many tacksmen found droving a natural outlet for their organising abilities: "Hereditie, aptitude and inclination re-inforced economic necessity".¹¹⁴ Seventeenth century evidence is scarce, but their involvement seems to have been well-established by the early eighteenth century, when the tacksmen of Ose, Eboist, Drynoch "and severall other McLeods" regularly attended Crieff fair with large droves of cattle.¹¹⁵

In the new economic situation, while some tacksmen still functioned as administrators, an increasing number of landlords now employed factors and agents from the lowlands to manage their estates so that here also the tacksmen's position became superfluous. Previously their rents had reflected their privileged status within the clan, but even from the beginning of the period it is possible to trace increases in their rents.¹¹⁶ As the social conditions which prompted a high produce yield

had disappeared, payments were made in cash from the receipts of droving and from increases in rent which tacksmen passed on to their tenants.

Though the social history of Inverness-shire largely followed the trends shown in these introductory chapters, there were many local variations as is apparent from estate rentals. The chapter which follows illustrates problems caused by these variations, how some of them can be resolved by means of rentals, and finally an analysis of the local histories of the MacLeod estate written by Canon R.C. MacLeod and Dr. I.F. Grant.

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CHAPTER 3 - METHODOLOGY.

The previous introductory account of Inverness-shire society has been a traditional and, it is hoped, reasonably valid one. A major deficiency, however, is that it has not been very specific since to leave the path of generalisations and assumptions is to become embroiled in a mass of obscurities. Causes of this are inherent in the topic itself, and the short discussion of them which follows should show why rentals are so valuable.

One problem is that of breadth of subject. Questions have usually been discussed with reference to the Highlands as a whole, and though recently much valuable work is being done on the history of the South-West Highlands, its conclusions do not necessarily apply to Inverness. In fact, extent and diversity make it hazardous to generalise within the county itself. Geographical situation, for instance, was largely responsible for the widely different circumstances in which tenants lived on the MacLeod and Gordon estates - the Macleods enjoyed a fairly stable society on their remote islands, while the Gordons suffered more frequent devastation since they lived in scattered areas across main routes of communication.

Breadth of subject also leads to difficulties in attempts at dating trends, aggravated by complex tenant relationships and gradual rates of estate development. This is most clearly illustrated by the role of the tackeman. Part of the aura of the clan was its para-military function until 1745 when the great majority of the tacksmen seem to have discharged their traditional military roles. Yet within one of the most militaristic of the Inverness-shire clans, i.e. the Gordons, tacksmen were not apparently justifying their contribution of military

service to the clan sufficiently to merit a privileged money rent from as early as 1612, when the rental shows a substantial increase from the former nominal rents. Thus although a fair idea may be obtained of tacksmen's social standing at the beginning and end of the period, their relative position within that time is uncertain.

Similar difficulties also apply throughout the social hierarchy. Tacksmen's gradual redundancy coincided with that of landlords in their positions as chiefs, since changes in the political circumstances which had formerly warranted their unique position made their services to the clan increasingly unnecessary. Yet while tacksmen have gained a bad reputation for furthering their own interests at the expense of those of the clan, landlords seem to have done this earlier and more decisively. MacLeod tacksmen in 1777 voluntarily raised their rents in an attempt to restore their landlord's financial position, and it is absentee landlordism which is probably responsible for the familiar idea of the development of loyal clansmen into embittered emigrants. This impression, though not necessarily wrong, is vague in that it does not take variables into account such as tenants who owed allegiance to a chief other than their landlord. Furthermore, while it appears that at the end of the period tenants were likely to be more closely associated with, and sympathetic towards, their tacksmen rather than their landlords, for instance accompanying them abroad as emigrants, it again depends very much on the particular estate.

The decisive factor in any solution to these problems is, of course, contemporary and secondary evidence. Unfortunately, the position is complicated by a distinct shortage of both. Traditional ideas of Highland society have been drawn mainly from the actions and attitudes of its more literate members, i.e. government officials and landlords'

families, since they were both the instigators of social change and users of documents in an essentially oral culture. When only one class of society is producing most of the source material there is a danger that inferences gained from it may be biased. The fact, too, that most of the material refers to this particular class may contribute to prejudice on the part of readers according to their sympathies. Secondly, economic documents are apt to survive in large quantities only in a politically stable society, and the consequent deficiencies in this evidence appear as a lack of cohesion and continuity.

All this appears in the bibliography on pp.402ff., which can be divided into several sections as follows: roughly corresponding to date of publication, first and most important are the few books based on works of the period which illustrate social trends: in this section can be included Hume-Brown, Martin, McKy, Burt, Lang, Walker (1764) and A. MacKintosh. Also very useful are the many descriptions of, and travellers' tours to, the Highlands in the late eighteenth century, e.g. the Statistical Account, various County Histories, Johnson, Boswell, Pococke (Kemp ed.), St. Fond, Buchanan and Pennant. Works on the Highland Clearances, (Selkirk, Brown and Prebble 1963) have been included since they illustrate the logical outcome of a process with many of its origins in the period under discussion. The mid-nineteenth century saw comparatively few relevant works produced - the calm before the massive political histories and volumes of family achievements which proliferated during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, as Bulloch (1902), W. Fraser, F.J. Grant, Gregory, A.J. MacDonald, MacKay (1893) and A. MacKenzie. Detailed economic and social works date mostly from the 1940's with the notable exception of those by C. Fraser-MacKintosh and I.F. Grant. Latest research has tended to swing from general social histories to specialised local studies as those of McKerral and

Cregeen; as more is known of social conditions throughout the Highlands, this trend will presumably eventually move to overall surveys.

The generally unsatisfactory nature of secondary sources devoted entirely to the social and economic history of Inverness-shire is most clearly expressed in the list of printed documents such as rentals and allied material which appears in toto on pp. 411-413. Its limited extent emphasises the need for social historians to rely on primary sources.

Various categories of Public Records illuminate some aspect of social history, among the most valuable being Commissary Records, Ecclesiastical Records, Exchequer Rolls, Justiciary Records and Sasine Registers. Exchequer Rolls provide basic information on agriculture and Sasine Registers titles and succession to land. Transfers of movable property are recorded in Commissary Records which are a valuable guide to contemporary tastes in, for example, furniture, utensils and dress. Daily life is also illustrated in ecclesiastical and judicial records, of which the most useful are probably surviving minutes of local Kirk Session Meetings and Baron Court Records. However, the overall effect of this evidence is an impression of its vague, scanty and generalised nature. While separate districts appear with unfailing regularity in the records, a closer examination of the latter reveals the impracticability of using them in a detailed local survey before the mid-eighteenth century at the earliest. For instance Inverness Presbytery Records, which are particularly well documented, have three separate gaps of twenty-six, fourteen and sixteen years between 1632 and 1751, while there are no Presbytery Records at all for the Uists before 1768. Reasons for this predicament appear to be two-fold. Firstly, owing to disinterest and poor communications, contact between central authorities

and the mass of the population was minimal: Exchequer Rolls, Sasine Registers and Commissary Records were concerned with only a small percentage of the Highland population. All these records, too, suffered from adverse storage conditions and the vicissitudes of war until the present Scottish Record Office was built in 1774.

Of greater value, therefore, to a local study of social conditions are the family muniments included in the Gifts and Deposits section in Register House. A substantial proportion of the material is inevitably concerned with landowners themselves, but documents relating to their estates are of vital importance in investigating living standards of the various tenant classes. Estate papers include three types of documents of outstanding social relevance, of which the first two are Factors' Accounts and Landlords' Discharges, since they show how estate income was spent and thus help to portray the influence of social change. The clearest effect of the latter on a cross-section of the population is, however, provided by the third category, that of estate rentals, and the rest of the thesis is an attempt to explore social conditions as revealed by these documents.

The problems described in the preceding pages are inherent in the type of research being undertaken. People are usually neither simpler nor logical, and their historical legacy is thus likely to be equally complex. Comprehensive documentary sources are fundamental to a full understanding of these people, and deficiencies result in the further complication of possible over-emphasis on certain events or aspects of their way of life. Rentals are therefore doubly valuable since they show social trends while not losing sight of the individual, and an analysis of their particular contribution to the study of local history now follows.

A rental is a list of holdings on an estate and their payments to the landlord. There are variations according to date, area and individual estate factors, and some rentals are more detailed than others, but most follow a basic pattern, showing 'land held' (valuation), 'holding and tenant's name' (tenantry), money rents, produce rents and services. These headings are used in the following survey of information which may be obtained, firstly from a detailed single rental, and secondly from a comprehensive series.

Information obtainable from a single rental.

Valuation.

The type of valuation used will, in most cases, show the original method of estimating the agricultural potential of an estate. In some districts single rentals may show a dual system of valuing the land, e.g. in Lochaber poundlands and pennylands, and in Glenelg pennylands and davoche, of great value in a comparison of land holding systems. Valuation totals will show how productive the land was, and relative size of farms fertility within each estate. 'Land held' will also indicate how the cultivable land was divided amongst the tenantry, for instance whether a few people held large amounts, or whether there were many small tenants with approximately equal holdings. In the latter case, the size of the smallest holding may provide some information about living standards and amount of land likely to be inhabited by the sub-tenantry. Some holdings may have occupied land which is now desolate, and clues to their identity may appear in the earliest edition of the Ordnance Survey.

Tenantry.

Tenants' names, used in conjunction with amounts of land held, will show several aspects of the social hierarchy within each estate.

Perhaps the clearest indication will come from the proportion of tenants to holdings: a rental with few holdings and few tenants will portray an estate organisation very different from one with the same number of holdings and a host of tenants. Single holdings might be tenanted either by the land-owner's relatives or by members of a family with connections throughout the estate. Alternatively, there could be a predominant family in each district. Some female tenants may be shown in the rental either as single tenants or jointly with sons, and other combinations of relatives in a holding may occur, such as father-son, brothers and uncle-nephew. Patronymics and agnates might make it difficult to trace exact family relationships, but should serve to distinguish between a closely-knit society and one infiltrated by incomers who by the seventeenth century usually kept their own surnames.

Money Rents.

Firstly, money rent totals will give some idea of the landlord's income, though a silver rent paid list may bear little relation to rents due. Totals will also indicate the degree of economic development on the estate when compared with those of other estates, and early rentals may well show nominal rather than real rents. A correlation with amounts of land held may also reveal whether land valuations were still of relevance in assessing rent payments from holdings.

Abnormal rents and deviations from the average rent per unit of valuation may be the result of several factors. If nominal rents occurred mainly in single tenancies, holders may perhaps have been

relatives of the land-owner or have paid their rents in another form, e.g. service. Other reasons could be unproductive land, or temporary disasters such as devastation. High rents may indicate a particularly fertile soil or alternative sources of income, e.g. fish or game.

Produce Rents.

These types of rent will give an indication of the character of holdings, and amounts paid their degree of productivity. On a wider scale they will show whether society was essentially pastoral or agricultural, the standard of living (in that amounts of produce rents paid will show a minimal number of animals stocked), and incidentally the landlord's way of life. If rents in kind were few and money rents correspondingly higher, or if they were paid only when the landlord required them and were otherwise commuted into money rents, it could indicate that the landlord had little need of them for household consumption. Substantial produce rents may suggest the opposite, or perhaps the existence of some organisation for selling surplus rents.

Services.

In some rentals services are an integral, and detailed section from the late sixteenth century onwards, and types and amounts should reveal something of the way in which an estate was run. Effectiveness naturally depended on efficiency, and the absence of written services may suggest a society based partly on good-will between landlord and tenants; services were probably given more readily when the latter could be confident of a reciprocal generosity through 'eases' and payments in charity. The possibility also exists, however, that a particular form of service was traditionally attached to a family or holding and was

therefore unwritten. One indication of this could be an otherwise inexplicable allowance deducted from the rent.

Rents.

A list of arrears reflects most vividly the ability of tenants to pay, and landlords to collect, their rents. Rentals were only an estimate of the agricultural potential of each holding which, however carefully the land was worked, could not always be fulfilled for reasons such as adverse climatic conditions, poverty, disease, or political and natural hazards. Smaller tenants were thus, in spite of any tacks which they possessed, in the position of tenants-at-will and ejection was theoretically automatic if rents were unpaid by the following year. The heading to a list of arrears may nevertheless show that this was not followed in practice, for instance "The Rental for 1684, including the rents of 1683", and such a course was manifestly not feasible from the numerous tenants usually to be found on such lists. Analysis of their names taken in conjunction with the corresponding rental will show which of the various classes of tenantry were in arrears, and by how much proportional to their individual rents due.

While a list of rents studied in isolation must be used with care since it may well include old or bad debts, collection of which was most unlikely, a comparison of rents due and rents left unpaid can help to show the effect on an estate of known economic forces such as agricultural setbacks and landlords' activities, and ultimately its financial position.

Information obtainable from a series of rentals.

Valuation.

The varied nature of the land valuations in use throughout the Highlands makes comparison of productivity very difficult. There do exist exceptional instances of changes in valuation but these mainly occur very early in the period when the amount was still considered to be relevant to the calculation of the rents due from a holding, and it later tended to become of only academic significance. Nevertheless, it should be possible to note stability of valuation within each area. Temporary changes are more usually mentioned in Factors' Accounts, but a permanent revaluation might follow natural or man-made devastation. Land valuations, reflecting the cultivable area of a holding, could sometimes be affected by a redefining of marches during the eighteenth century when competition for land became more severe and greater interest was taken in estate development. Reductions in area need not necessarily influence the valuation, however, as they were increasingly offset by the cultivation of pendicles or shealing sites, many of which also came to be regarded as holdings in their own right.

Tenantry.

From a series of rentals it may be possible to trace the progress of families and through them the stability and continuity of society. Guide-lines are firstly, the successive occupancy of holdings by tacksmen and joint-tenants and secondly, the disappearance of families and their replacement by incomers, i.e. tenants with surnames other than those which formerly predominated on the estate. The latter development can be supplemented by eighteenth century petitions and lists

of rests. Rigid estate hierarchy may make it unlikely that a former joint-tenant becomes a tackeman, but there may be signs of an improvement in status. For example, one man might assume responsibility for the organisation of a joint-holding or become cautioner for the payment of another tenancy, the owner of which could not guarantee to be able to pay the rents, perhaps through illness, inexperience or old age. The size of a man's tenancy might also increase, following an established pattern of father and son occupying neighbouring holdings, and on the former's death the assumption of the tenancy by the son, with his mother remaining as life-renter. It may also have been possible to inherit land through grandparents, uncles, aunts and mothers as happened on the Gordon estates.

Some widows, especially in the seventeenth century, appear to have been tenants for a considerable time before their sons came of age. This suggests that their husbands had either married when old or had died young, and in the latter case it is reasonable to assume that at least some had died violently. A more or less steady decline in the number of female tenants could thus reflect an increasingly stable society.

A partial corroboration of this could be the progressive disappearance of the patronymic and agnates, which would seem to indicate a decrease in familiarity and social contact between estate officials and tenants and a more business-like relationship between them. The clearest indication of the latter, however, is a rise in rents; if a block of tenants changes between consecutive rentals, it is likely that a set of tacks expired, and the landlord was able to obtain higher rents from new tenants.

Money Rents.

In early rentals only a small percentage of the estate income may appear to have been paid in money, whereas by the end it is often the only type of rent, the others having been converted. A series of rentals will show the rate at which landlords regarded the economic output of a holding to be of greater importance than its occupant's status in the tenant hierarchy or his service/contribution to the estate as a whole, especially significant in relation to tacksmen's holdings. Tacks were often set for a stated number of years, e.g. two, five, seven, 11 and 19¹, during which time other rents may well have increased. If these tacks were renewed at the same rent it would appear that services were of greater value than rents, or at least that for family or other reasons the landlord was willing to allow an uneconomic rent. Alternatively, the rents might be increased to an economically realistic level in which case the holding might be transferred to another tenant.

Rent increases can be assessed according to the size of tenancy and number and status of tenants, and increases in payments of cess, teinds and public burdens may also be shown, though perhaps more comprehensively in other documents.

Occasionally, money rents may show a marked decrease or disappear for a number of years. One reason for this could be that from the late sixteenth century onwards landlords often used wadsets as a method of raising cash. If the wadsetter was given possession of the land, e.g. in order to establish himself if he was a younger son, he retained the

rents, but most wadsets were merely business transactions in which the wadsetter kept the difference between the value of the rents he received and the rent he paid the land-owner as his interest on the loan, or paid the excess if the value of the rents was greater than the interest. During the period the value of rents rose disproportionately to rates of interest so that wadsetters might frequently be required to augment their payments by the increased income, shown by the term "superplus" near the money rent column. Other reasons for a decline in rents - more usually temporary - are exhaustion of the fertility of a holding; devastation or wastage, e.g. by flooding; a series of bad harvests; the occupation of a holding by servants or officials, and sometimes regular inability to pay the rent on the plea that it was "sett too high".

Some patterns may appear among amounts and rates of growth, though they will differ according to the potential productivity of each holding; they may perhaps be studied to most advantage with contemporary lists of arrears. Possible variations are a gradual, overall rise on an estate, or a comparatively high increase on certain holdings while others remain steady. Rents might be stable for some years and then show a substantial augmentation - in this case a correlation with tacks and feus could be helpful.

It might be expected that increases in rent will reflect landlords' rising expenditure, thus becoming more frequent. Presumably they will also reflect external demand for Highland products, especially cows. These trends are related; if landlords' expenditure increased - and there is no evidence to prove that they never desired to cut a good figure in the world - they had to obtain extra money. There were three ways of raising the cash. They could sell off portions of their estates, a self-defeating

process, or could borrow the money, but in this case, too, the crows would eventually come home to roost in the form of annual rents and repayments. The most feasible method was exploitation of the estate, i.e. increasing the money rents, since to raise unconverted produce rents was of little value unless they were converted into cash. Augmentations in money rents may therefore be a direct result of estate development of natural resources such as cattle-rearing, though these may not themselves feature on the rentals, and correlation with market values is also necessary.

Rents in Kind.

During the early part of the period these rents were a staple part of a landlord's income and an important contribution to the self-sufficient economy of an estate since they provided for the upkeep of his household and the hospitality which was expected of him towards tenants and visitors alike. A decline in the need for such hospitality and responsibilities such as retinues, absentee landlordism, and increased marketing facilities which followed improved communications may thus be reflected in a series of rentals as the types of produce rents become modified or diminish in proportion to increases in money rent. For example, subsistence rents such as butter, cheese and wedders were likely to be of less use to the landlord than the victual rents of meal and beere which he could either ship and sell in bulk, manufacture into ale or distribute in charity. The former items are therefore more likely to be converted into money sooner than the latter and there may also be an intermediate stage when an allowance is given if the landlord has need of some produce. Eventually it is to be expected that all the rents in kind would be commuted to appear as a straight-forward money rental.

Services.

Rentals can provide information on estate organisation since some tenants occupied holdings either free or at a reduced rent as their salary. Examples may be craftsmen, e.g. smiths or armourers, musicians, estate workers, e.g. foresters, and administrators, e.g. factors and chamberlains. Some positions may be traditionally associated with a particular tenancy or may be hereditary, more especially in the case of craftsmen and musicians. A series of rentals may show if their value to the landlord declined to the extent that they lost their privileged status and the rent of the holding reverted or increased to its economic payment. By the mid-seventeenth century landowners' financial affairs were so complicated that they could not afford inept management, and though estate officials could still be tacksmen, they may well be qualified lawyers, working in conjunction with Lowland agents for a salary.

A variety of extraordinary services given by tenants may be indicated in the rentals. Often an allowance could be granted, e.g. for the collection of rents for a district and transporting them to a central point, or for acting as a messenger between different areas of an estate. It appears, however, that the services required of tenants could be varied and more or less demanding according to the landowner's will under the blanket terms of 'ariage and cariage' and 'service usit and wont'.² Service rents may appear as payments proportional to the size of the tenancy, either in amounts or in days of service.

Underlying estate organisational theory was the assumption that tenants were available and prepared to fight or hunt under their landlord's leadership, and in some rentals this service may be indicated in a separate column. As there became less need for a continual state of alert, the agricultural aspect of service may gradually predominate and become more clearly defined, thus showing some aspects of community life. Examples could be the contribution of a number of tenants for shearing, ploughing, sowing, building and thatching and peat-winning.

Services will be stressed in a society where the landowner was more concerned with exacting labour dues than with retaining tenants' goodwill. It must be noted that some rentals do not state service payments, and it is difficult to ascertain whether this was because the latter were merely rudimentary, or because they were acknowledged and unwritten. As estate development became more intensive the rentals may show increasingly onerous duties, possibly especially from tacksmen's holdings, as the services which they formerly gave diminished in value.

Rests.

Included in most tacks was the proviso that rents were to be paid yearly at Martinmass, and non-payment by the following year would result in a decret of removal whereby a tenant, his servants and cottars had to vacate the tenancy. A series of rentals, however, will show in all probability numerous references to poverty and landlords' actions in demanding or waiving rents will reflect changes in their attitude towards both individuals and the tenantry as a whole. Numbers of tenants in arrears may help to differentiate between years of good and bad harvests,

though there might be other reasons such as devastation.

Some rentals may have long lists of rests scored through, or "etc., etc." written beneath them, indicating that the landowner had been forced to remit the greater part of the year's rents, since there was presumably no guarantee that replacement tenants would find it any easier to pay their rents, and meanwhile a year's income from affected holdings would either be reduced or lost.

Some rentals may show allowances to a tenant in respect that he is a beginner, and on some estates payment of the first year's rent was apparently postponed until the last year of the tack, which would remain unpaid if the tenant were ever ejected. The landlord might perhaps be less lenient, however, towards an individual tenant who failed to produce enough rent in a 'good' year, or who was consistently in arrears - rentals may show the disappearance of such a tenant in the year after a short list of rests, or after inclusion in several lists, the holding then being tenanted by someone else, possibly an incomer.

Such lists will also show which class of tenants found most difficulty in paying their rents, whether tacksmen, joint-tenants, small tenants or women, and differences in landlords' treatment of them. Indications are the types and amounts of reductions or accumulations that he was prepared to give; paternalism should show differently from charity to servants or retainers. On the other hand, undersetting of holdings and mention of lee lands may reveal the other side of the picture. If fewer tenants were willing to take responsibility for holdings, it was more advantageous for a landlord to accept a slight loss in revenue in the form of

reduced rents or goods in lieu, e.g. cattle, horses, or barrels of salt.

Used in conjunction with rent increases, lists of rests may show if there is a period in and from which arrears become more substantial or frequent, and whether there is a corresponding increase in landlord's patience. In this way they can provide a valuable guide to landlord-tenant relationships and thus into the stability and continuity of society.

The previous section shows that a major advantage of rentals lay in the varied and detailed nature of the information which they could provide compared to the other types of documents outlined, many of which gave only a restricted view of perhaps one or two aspects of Inverness-shire society. However, their usefulness, like that of the other documents, was directly dependent upon their availability and entirety, and it became increasingly apparent that a choice would have to be made between the study of a cross-section of rentals from several estates or a series of them from a very few. It was finally decided in favour of the latter method, and for the study of Harris rentals in particular, for reasons which will emerge from the following survey.

The existence of rentals in the archives was first of all ascertained by scrutinising each of the various collections which related to Inverness-shire. Availability of relevant material ranged from extremes such as that of the Gordon family, in which almost every document was individually handlisted, to that of the Grants where almost two hundred boxes of previously unsorted documents were searched and catalogued for the occasional estate paper. From this examination the collections listed on p.414 were found large enough to be of significance. Most of these muniments, however, proved for various reasons to be of little help. For instance, Cameron of Lochell contained almost exclusively nineteenth and twentieth century material, as did the MacDonalds of Glenaladale and Sleat, and MacNeill of Barra. The Dick Bequest Trust and MacKintosh of Balnespick muniments, while containing eighteenth century material referred mainly to affairs outside the chosen period. The MacKintosh of MacKintosh collection, which applies to a wide area in Inverness-shire, was unfortunately unavailable owing to the flooding by Loch Moy of the room where the documents were kept, and though they are stored in Register House it is unwise to handle them unless

specially equipped due to extensive decomposition.

There emerged three collections which included a comprehensive quantity of estate material, rentals and Factors' Accounts: Gordon, Grant, and MacLeod. These estates did, in fact, cover a large part of the shire since the Gordon rental included Badenoch, Lochaber and the Castlelands of Inverness, that of the Grants Strathspey, Urquhart and Glenmoriston, and the MacLeods held Glenelg, part of Skye and Harris.

This left a class of documents which caused something of a problem, i.e. The Forfeited Estates Papers from 1715 (not referenced) and 1745, and the Fraser-MacKintosh, MacDonald, MacDonald of Clanranald, MacLean of Dochgarroch, and MacPherson of Cluny collections. Each of these muniments contained some rentals, but while these lay within the relevant period, i.e. seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries, they were usually either too infrequent or too general to be of much use in indicating social trends on any individual estate, so that they were mainly of comparative value. The dilemma of extensive or intensive use of rentals compelled a close examination of this last group of documents, and it was found that a series of comparisons of roughly contemporary rentals from a number of estates was not feasible. This was owing to an imbalance in the periods of time between each cross-section, with the bias very much towards the eighteenth century from which, inevitably, most material has survived, thus vitiating the study of long-term social trends.

The other alternative, that of using the rentals from the Gordon, Grant and MacLeod estates was therefore chosen, since these were more evenly spaced during the period. However, re-scrutiny disclosed further problems of which the first was that of dating. The earliest Gordon

rental survived from 1592, and that of the Grants from 1567. Rentals from these collections were then fairly widely spaced; for example, those for seventeenth and early eighteenth century Gordon lands in Badenoch occurred at intervals of about a decade, and the rentals for other areas were analogous. The earliest MacLeod rental, on the other hand, was that for 1680, and numerous ones followed until 1720, from which date there were rentals only in 1724, 1735, 1744 and 1754, unlike those for the other two estates in which they occurred almost annually. Thus while the study of social development was possible within each estate, strict contemporary comparison amongst all three was likely to be difficult.

The second problem also concerned the practicability of comparison in that agricultural and economic conditions were reflected in types of rent paid, and the mainland estates had a wider range of produce rents than that of the MacLeods. Services also differed so that, while Gordon and Grant rentals were roughly similar in character, they were strikingly dissimilar to MacLeod ones. This diversity extended to the rentals' layout. By the middle of the seventeenth century some of those of the Gordons and Grants were shown in tabular form, while the earliest corresponding MacLeod Judicial Rental was in 1754.

Nevertheless, the early MacLeod rentals, though written in longhand, were perfectly legible and transcription in tabular form was relatively straightforward. The question of presentation was quite important since factorial handwriting ranged from the ornate sixteenth century styles to individual notations best described as a dense scrawl, heavily overlaid with seventeenth century doodles. The most visually effective method seemed to be one quite often used in the early eighteenth century, i.e. of columns indicating amount of land occupied, name of place and tenant, money rents, produce rents and services with an

additional column if grassums were due. For those rentals which did not give all the above information the tables were modified accordingly.

It was decided to study the three series of rentals in greater detail, and the MacLeod rentals were transcribed first, partly from personal choice since most of the places mentioned were familiar, and partly because they presented a consistent group. A transcription having been made of all rentals extant for Harris, Skye and Glenelg, and the Gordon rentals for Badenoch, Lochaber and the Castlelands of Inverness having also been eventually completed, a start was made on Grant rentals for Urquhart and Glenmoriston.

At this point the direction of research altered. During the transcription of the Gordon rentals, differences between these and the MacLeods' became increasingly evident. However, a first superficial examination of the MacLeod series showed results which were startlingly different from those published in the two most detailed MacLeod histories (none on a comparable scale existed for the Gordons). It was clear that general assumptions based on research undertaken by these authors were only as accurate as their transcription, calculations and interpretation and these assumptions were not always consistent with the newly-emergent facts. The decision had thus to be taken whether to compare rentals of the different estates or whether to concentrate on the MacLeod rentals alone. Since the crucial consideration seemed to be one of accuracy, the choice was made for the more intensive study. This choice was later found to be the more feasible one, since processing the rentals proved to be a laborious and time-consuming effort dictated by their nature, a description of which follows.

MacLeod rentals are available for Glenelg, Skye and Harris. However, though available, they are by no means plentiful and whereas numerous

discharges and accounts survive from the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries, there are no full rentals for Glenelg at any time during the period, and none for Skye until 1754. Glenelg rentals exist for 1718, 1719 and 1720 (shortened versions), 1724 (with names of deponents), 1735 and 1754/5. Skye rentals are divided into the four districts of Bracadale and Lindale, Duirinish, Minginish and Waternish. The earliest indication of Skye rents occurs in a four-page drover's account, on page three of which is a short "Account of what Rorie McLeod has gotten of the rents in the yer 1670" including tenants from Bracadale and possibly Duirinish, Minginish and Harris. There are then no judicial rentals for Skye but a Silver Rent list for 1683, and rests for 1683, 1684, 1685 and 1686. The Contullich Accounts cover the period 1706 - 1720, and the first Judicial Rental of Skye is for 1724 though it names only the deponents to the rents, not the tenants. The 1744 rental contains all the districts, and there are separate rental sheets for Duirinish and Waternish in 1753. Finally, there are both lists of augmentations and Judicial Rentals for 1754. These are the only extant Skye rentals, and while of value, they were clearly insufficiently comprehensive to form the basis of a detailed long-term study. The choice was therefore finally restricted to Harris rentals available as follows.

<u>Judicial Rentals</u>	<u>Silver Rent Lists</u>	<u>Rests</u>
1680	1683	1683
1684	1686	1684
1685	1687	1685
1697 (Short)	1688	
1698		
1701	<u>Gross Rentals</u>	
1702	1744	
1703	1751	
1706-1720 (Short)	1754	
1724	1755	
1735 (Short)		
1754		

The rest of the chapter is divided into two parts. Immediately following is an investigation into the particular problems inherent in an economic survey of Harris during the period under discussion, especially as regards estate income. It was essential that they be recognised and explained as far as possible, since to ignore them and rely on generalisations instead was to run the risk of repeating the grave errors of interpretation evinced by Canon R.C. MacLeod and Dr. I.F. Grant, the previous historians to have studied Harris, and an analysis of their respective works ends the chapter.

From the transcriptions of the 1680, 1703, 1712, 1724, 1735 and 1754 rentals on pp. 368-401 it can be seen that the seventeenth century and early eighteenth century rentals are very different from those of later years. It must be stressed, however, that some of these differences and anomalies were due, not to social conditions in force at the time, but entirely to the bureaucratic whims of estate factors who during the seventeenth century appear to have been less efficient than their counterparts of the eighteenth century, neither so business-like nor so well-organised. Quite often they gave dissimilar totals for the same rental or year, omitted holdings, cess and mart-money or included some tenants twice. Add to these frequent errors in addition and the result was often confusion and occasionally exasperation. However, the particular problems which they presented were eventually resolved mainly by means of a comparison with other rentals. This was not possible with questions of interpretation, and these problems are discussed individually as follows.

One great difficulty was created by the interregnum of the "Contullich Administration" (1706-1724). Iain Breac MacLeod, who died in 1693, was followed by two landlords who died prematurely, Rory Og MacLeod (d.1699)

and Norman MacLeod (d.1706). The latter left a posthumous son, Norman (b.1706), and during his minority John MacLeod of Mishnish/Contullich acted as 'Tutor', with overall responsibility for the estate. Born in 1645, the eldest son of Sir Norman MacLeod of Berneray, Contullich had become an advocate at the age of forty and had experienced estate management since 1700 as Factor of the estate. He was therefore some sixty years old in 1706 and his brother Alexander, the MacLeod 'doer' or legal advocate in Edinburgh, tried to dissuade him "as he was sufficiently aware that the entering upone ane office of Tutorry was commonly with danger". However, his son Rory described his attitude thus: "He intended everything for the support and advantage of the family and the preservation of MacLeod's tenants, which he apprehended to be very much the interest of a Highland Chief".³

Contullich's organisation of the estate was thus according to practices that were 'nottourly known' and traditional (his age probably being a contributory factor). His period of administration is consequently doubly significant: socially and economically it may be regarded as something of a 'holding operation', as attested by contemporary discharges and accounts which show 'eases' to impoverished tenants and payments to such servants and retainers as violers, pipers and an 'Irish Poet'. Yet his influence was dramatic in that a debt of approximately £ 86,000 in 1700 was almost cleared by 1720 despite many poor harvests. In these circumstances, rentals are particularly important since they show that this financial improvement was not brought about by a marked increase in income. It must therefore have been the result of either improved estate management or reductions in landlord's personal expenditure, evidence for both being shown in the Contullich Accounts up to 1720.⁴

From 1720-1724 there are no detailed accounts as Norman Macleod, influenced by members of the Lowland families with whom he had been brought up, started to examine previous accounts with the idea of taking Contullich to court, alleging malpractice: the Contullich Accounts arose out of the ensuing legal process. It was manifest that, as Alexander Macleod remarked "This management was the most advantageous for the proprietor that ever happened in that or any other neighbouring family and that has hitherto defied the strictest enquiry that could be made to give the least existence of fraud or dishonesty in any step of it".⁵ Nevertheless, arbitrators decided that, in the absence of certain receipts for payment, the estate was owed £ 9,000. Contullich having died exhausted in the early 1720's, Rory was obliged to pay up; bankrupt, he died in 1730.

This absence of documentary evidence is a feature of the Contullich administration which caused some problems. For instance, there are no detailed rentals, and since a primary intention was to discover stability of tenure, the period was critical; between 1703 and 1724 a new generation of tenants apparently occurred, and while in the latter year the majority were MacLeods, the lack of patronymics hindered identification of links with former tenants. One reason for the wholesale change may have been reflected in late seventeenth and early eighteenth century accounts which showed numerous payments to former servants and widows of both important and less noteworthy tenants. It is possible that women were better able to endure the prolonged suffering caused by the fierce winters and inadequate harvests which were greatly in evidence during the late seventeenth and early eighteenth century.

The second difficulty was created by the inclusion of cess and mart money as an integral part of money rents after 1713. The consequent increases rarely tallied with the separate amounts levied previously, making comparison difficult, but as there is no covering explanation figures have had to be accepted as written. This also applies to 'lee lands', or holdings not set to a named tenant and from which no income was gained. Outstanding examples of 'lee lands' occurred in the holdings of South Copiphell and Rowdil, described on pp.83ff. Any income from sub-tenants was not recorded, a great pity as it would have given some indications of this otherwise neglected section of the tenantry.

The many unexplained fluctuations in rent, also a feature of the administration, gave Norman Macleod the excuse he needed to investigate the accounts. His barbarous requital of Contullich's extraordinarily loyal service was evidence of the increasing momentum of social change.

The Contullich Administration coincided with a wadset of a substantial portion of the Harris rental to the widow of Sir Norman Macleod of Berneray, who had already held that 'remarkably fertile' island in liferent since 1633. In 1698 he bought for 2,000 merks plus a feu duty of 50 merks, p.a. the wadset of Horgisbost, Seilebost, Luskintyre, Hushinish, Scarp and the island of Taransay - a good bargain, as the income from these holdings in the early 1680's amounted to over 900 merks annually. On his death in 1705 the wadset passed to his second wife, Catherine, and in 1722 to William Macleod of Berneray, and later of Luskintyre. The length of the wadset caused some problems of interpretation. First of all, there was no evidence for either rents or tenants in the affected holdings between 1697 and 1724, and the latter year and 1754. 1697 was itself anomalous since the wadset, dated 3.7.98., did not appear on the "Brief Rentall of ye Hairish as

it was att Whitsunday 1697". On the other hand, the 1724 rental showed the rents due from the wadset holdings even though they were included in the "wadsett - right granted by the Laird of Macleod to Bernira who possesses the same accordingly". The 1724 total rent of £ 670 was substantially the same as in the 1680's unlike that of the other holdings.

These anomalies are probably explained by economic circumstances in force at the time. For instance, between 1688 and 1697 there were no rentals, and Factors' Accounts barely mentioned Harris; these years covered the period of Iain Breac's last illness and the enforced absence through sickness from Dunvegan of Rory Og MacLeod. The 1697 rental was probably post-dated, because no other rental at that time had a similar heading; the nearest was a survey made in 1724 by Norman MacLeod "of the Rent of Herries as paid in the tyme of John MacLeod late of that ilk".

The plight of estate organisation at the turn of the century was illustrated on the back of the 1701 rental which included, amongst other dues back dated for two or three years, two years' cess and mart money from Ispost (Horgisbost) and Seilebost. As this was unlikely to be a factorial error - no other wadset holding was mentioned - it must therefore have referred to dues owing from before 1698. The inclusion of the wadset lands in the 1724 rental might have been an indication that Norman MacLeod intended to redeem them in the near future, but they did not reappear until the 1735 rental. There was, however, an interesting sequel to the wadset. From 1735 until the end of the period Seilebost, Luskintyre, Hushinish and Scarp comprised one holding but Horgisbost, which one would have expected to join them, was excluded. It was also left out of the list of augmented rents in 1754, but appeared in the final rental at the same rent as in 1724.

Besides townships in the wadset, other individual holdings occasionally disappeared from the rentals. These are described below, starting with the intriguing absence of South Scarsta. The 1680 rental stated that this holding was "For the Laird his use", and it did not appear in either the 1684 or 1685 rentals. In a note for cess in 1684 South Scarsta was the only township omitted, suggesting that it was for MacLeod's own personal use, or at least that it was in his hands. In a 1685 "note of the Laird MacLeod his third of ye theiths" in which mostly South Harris townships are named, for South Scarsta is written "Ye lairds part of ye theiths of yese lands extends 12 merks" - uniquely, as no other holding is subdivided and typical entries are "Strond: John McKenzie payes 50 merks" or "Drimphointt: ye tennents of ye sds lands payes 8 merks". The laird's payment is repeated in 1698 and 1701, the tenants (in the former year Angus Campbell) paying nine merks, but by 1702 the old smith and his son, who were the tenants in the previous year, were paying 21 merks. Since the money rent for the holding stayed constant between 1698 and 1703 at 80 merks, for the purposes of comparison rents for previous years have been calculated at this rate, and as there is no clear evidence as to what use the holding was put, where specific details of tenants were required (e.g. pp.154-5) the holding has been omitted.

Other examples of holdings which were sometimes not named in the rentals, with consequent problems of interpretation, were Middletown, Drimfuint, the Copiphells, Meikle and Middle Borrows, and Finsbay. A sandstorm in the winter of 1696-1697 overwhelmed much of the holding of Middletown in Pabbay, and any remaining lands were hence-forward included with those of Northtown. Drimfuint was not mentioned in the 1713, 1714, 1718 and 1720 rentals. In all probability it was included with Ensay as in 1715 and 1719 it was named with that holding at the same valuation of 6½d and rent of 400 merks which was due between

1713 - 1715 and 1718 - 1719. Thus though the rent in 1717 was an inexplicable 480 merks, and in 1720 Ensay was held jointly with Southtown in Copiphell, for the purposes of money rent totals (p.217) Drimfuint has been regarded as forming part of the Ensay rents.

Northtown and Southtown on the windswept headland of Copiphell are particularly exposed, and it may be for this reason that these two holdings during the early eighteenth century were prone either to disappearance from the rentals or classification therein as 'lee lands'. South Copiphell, being the more unprotected, apparently suffered most; no other holding in Harris showed the same degree of difficulty in finding a tenant. In the late seventeenth century the townships were held by the sons of Allister 'awinich' MacLeod, but in 1701 one of the four tenants was an impoverished beginner and the holding then changed hands three times in as many years. In 1706 3½d of the 'Quopivels' was not set; in 1707 no mention was made of North Copiphell; in 1709 3d was missing and in 1717 and 1718 South Copiphell was lee. In 1719 only 1d of that holding was tenanted, and as in 1720 it was valued at 7d with the previous 6½d of Ensay it was apparently still heavily underset. From 1735 both Copiphells were incorporated in the holding of Berneray, and nothing further is known of the rents except for a few entries in the Factors' Accounts for Harris between 1736 and 1740, and the 1746 total (and incomplete) rental. In 1736, 1738 and 1739 (no account is extant for 1737) the Discharge contains the item "overcharged in the rents of Quopiveil ... £ 6-0-0". Yet in the final entry, that of 1740, is written "To overplus in the lands of Quopivell ... £ 42-10-0", and if the factor meant 'superplus', the entries do not tally. The term 'superplus' is usually associated with a wadset, and if the Copiphells were in fact wadsetted, no record remains though it might explain their absence from the rental

in favour of Berneray. For the purposes of later money rent totals, therefore, the Copiphells have been calculated at the 1724 rent of £ 166-13-4 and £ 30-0-0 teinds.⁶ Thus it is fairly safe to assume that Copiphell rents were more or less static until 1753, since the tack of 1735 was still in force in that year, but from 1754 onwards they were likely to have risen, though probably not as steeply as those from Berneray itself.

Meikle Borrow, of the '3 Borrows', was lee in 1718, under-rented in 1719, but paid a normal rent in 1720. Reasons for the variation are unfortunately not known. Half of Middle Borrow was not set in 1685, but an explanation is given on p. 345. Finsbay, north of Rowdil, is not mentioned in the Contullich accounts. It may well have been a holding not viable on its own; only a $\frac{1}{2}$ d in the 1680's it was held by tenants from Middle Borrow and North Scarsta in succession, but by 1697 was classified as a separate holding in the rental. Evidently some difficulty was experienced in working it as in 1698 it was given free to a tenant in Rowdil providing that he paid the tythes of three merks. In 1701 it was apparently not set, and the produce rents of (different) tenants in 1702 and 1703 were nominal, no victual rents being charged at all. Though the 1703 and 1724 tenants or deponents had apparently no other holdings, the land was probably used for pasture⁷, as signified by later rentals which show that no produce rents were payable. By 1724 the rent was lower than in 1703 and not until 1735 did the rent equal that of the £ 20-0-0 which was asked in 1702. In 1754 the rent rose to £ 40-0-0 but included the pendicle of Ardvie. As Finsbay's contribution to the rental was so uncertain it was decided to separate it from the other holdings in the money rent lists and to include it in a separate section with the other unusual item in the rentals, i.e. Rowdil.

Throughout each chapter Harris settlements have been variously described as 'holdings', 'farms' and 'townships' according to context. Single holdings such as South Copiphell were not solitary steadings as attested by the inclusion of a number of tenants in succeeding rentals. On the other hand, certain holdings, such as settlements on the island of Pabbay, and Ensay, had many small tenants from seemingly closely-knit families. Such tenant patterns were probably the result of above-average soil fertility which enabled small tenants to remain solvent. Strond and Rowdil were also situated on rich soils, but while the former was a single holding throughout the period, Rowdil tenant patterns and money rents were so abnormal that, in Harris, this settlement alone deserved the title of 'village' rather than any of the above terms, and its unique characteristics are worth discussion.

In detailed rentals of 1680 - 1703 an immediate contrast between Rowdil and other holdings is seen in the ratio of tenants to land valuation. Ensay, which had the next highest yearly number of tenants, was valued at 4d with an additional 1½d of the Eye of Copiphell, while Rowdil was only 1d.⁸ Consequently the average yearly land valuation per tenant was minute by comparison with the rest of Harris. For example, in 1680 the average holding per tenant was only .04545d; in 1703 it was even less at .0434d. Holdings varied in size from a half farthing to a kinoch, with the emphasis on the lower end of the landholding scale. In any year, only one or two tenants might hold a half farthing or 3 clitticks; most held one or half a clittick and several a kinoch.* Since there were no holdings of half a kinoch and a "poor widow" was given a reduction of a merk on her five merks' money rent of a kinoch, it would suggest that this was the smallest viable landholding unit. This being so, the fact that so many of the tenants held twice or four times this amount points to some kind of a systematic settlement.

* See pp. 133, 156

Two other pieces of evidence substantiate this theory - one topographical, the other arising from tenant patterns. Rowdil is situated in a long, broad, U-shaped valley. If house sites in the seventeenth century were similar to those of the nineteenth, and there is no reason to think they were any different, they were located along the valley floor with their lazy beds stretching up the slopes. Agricultural conditions were therefore similar for most people and holdings could be partitioned fairly accurately which may have contributed to the very precise scheme of money rents. Between 1680 and 1685 tenants paid five merks for a kinoch, 10 for half a clittick, 18 for one clittick and 36 for half a farthingland - the clittick rate a slight reduction which was altered in 1698 to 20 merks, pro rata with the five merks per kinoch, and it remained thus until 1703. The fertility of Rowdil's soil is emphasised by comparison with Ensay and Pabbay, where tenants also paid (with slight exceptions) according to a fixed scale of rents. On these islands there were few holdings of less than two clitticks, and the rent for such a holding was $7\frac{1}{2}$ merks in Ensay and only $3\frac{3}{4}$ merks in Pabbay. Differences between the two types of settlement are also seen in the produce rents paid. On the islands these comprised a substantial portion of the total rent, but in Rowdil they seem to have been purely nominal. In 1680 the three holders of a clittick paid one stone of butter each and in 1684 and 1685 the four and three tenants of clitticks respectively paid one wedder each. The rest paid money rent only, and later rentals do not show any produce rents.

Rowdil's tenantry also differed from tenant patterns in the rest of Harris. Immediately noticeable was the number of tenants whose surnames suggested non-Macleod connections - there were at least a dozen, of which most were not met with anywhere else in Harris, e.g. Dingwall, McLauchlan, Lainge, MacDonald, Ross and Cuke. Of these, over half held land between 1680 and 1688 and the rest between 1698 and 1703, refuting

the idea of a sudden influx of newcomers. The years 1688 - 1698 did represent, however, a break in the continuity of tenantry with 13 new tenants and the disappearance of four tenants from 1688 and 10 from 1687. The gap of 10 years was nearly half a generation though, and reasons for the turnover were therefore probably due to natural rather than human factors. Otherwise tenant patterns in Rowdil do not support the idea of a floating population. In rentals between 1680 and 1688 tenants shown once or twice were greatly outnumbered by those listed five or the maximum of six times, and of the 10 who reappeared in 1698, six were tenants for between 15 and 20 years and two for more than 20, comparing favourably with tenant stability elsewhere in Harris.

Family relationships in Rowdil contrasted with those of other holdings, especially on the islands. Though numerous examples existed of brothers who were tenants in separate holdings, and likewise sons and daughters, more unconnected families were revealed rather than a close, continuous inter-family succession, e.g. grandfather, sons and two or three sets of grandsons. There seem to be two main reasons for this. Firstly tenants may have had relatives in other, perhaps neighbouring, holdings and one might expect to find them in the rentals. Unfortunately, while there are one or two indications of this (e.g. Ensay, South Copiphell), patronymics make certain identification of tenant families impossible and furthermore the size of tenancies in Rowdil was so small that holders of their counterparts elsewhere were more than likely to have been subtenants. For instance Strond, the adjacent holding, was a single tenancy and it is reasonable to assume that Rhenish promontory between Strond and Rowdil was inhabited by Strond sub-tenants who were relatives of Rowdil tenants. A second possible reason for the lack of close ties between tenants also arises from the smallness of the

holdings, since it suggests that some tenants had alternative or additional forms of income, and indeed while village occupations were fairly extensive they did not appear to run in families as elsewhere; it is significant that a high proportion of these tenants had non-Macleod surnames. As befitted Rowdil's position as the nearest sheltered port in Harris to Dunvegan, several estate officials lived there in houses almost certainly belonging to Macleod⁹, for instance the Ground Officer of Harris (William Ross), ferriers (Allister Gordon, Lauchlan MacLauchlan) boatman (Ean McSuine) and peat-winner (Christopher McQuien). Other tenants who performed unspecified services were John Dingwall, Rorie McQuien, and Angus McIllechrist. Most of these tenants received allowances in rent (cf p. 373). Other village pursuits were those of carpenter (Neill Macintyre), brewer (Lauchlan MacLauchlan and later Normand McInnis) and schoolmaster (Mr. John Lainge).

The unique tenant pattern in Rowdil may also have been a cause of another phenomenon observable in the rentals - that of under- and over-setting. Rowdil's true valuation of the ld shown on the Valuation Table on p. 144 was only twice achieved between 1680 and 1703, i.e. in 1680 and 1698, but totals have been shown as ld for every rental as most variations in the seventeenth century were undoubtedly of administrative origin and were therefore more than likely to have been informally adjusted, (e.g. one kinech short in 1685). In 1684 and 1703 the actual total of land held amounted to more than ld but in both cases there are deficiencies in the source material.¹⁰ The only years in which natural rather than human factors may have been responsible for variations in the period 1680 - 1703 were 1701 and 1702 when only 3½ farthings were set, with a consequent decline in rents though not in the numbers of tenants. This period was one of general economic uncertainty, and therefore fluctuations in rent, throughout the island, but there were no

instances of undersetting elsewhere and significantly if there had been intense competition for land in Rowdill, such a deficit could not have arisen. The fierce winter of 1716 had a similar effect on tenancies; 1½ clitticks were let in 1717 and one clittick in 1718. From 1724 onwards there is less information since tenants were no longer named but in 1724 William Ross was still evidently Ground Officer of Harris, and was unable to write.

By 1754 a new holding had appeared on the rental - the "Change (inn) of Rowdill and Clitick of Land following it" at a rent of £ 159-10-0. Changehouses in Skye generally paid between 20 and 60 pounds, except for Duninish, where the holding was "the New Changehouse, kiln and malt halfpenny of Dunvegan" at a rent of £ 200-0-0; this excluded the Miln, which was rented at £ 166-13-4. The other exception was the Miln and Changehouse of Glenelg which paid a rent of £ 186-13-4, and a similar combination could have been the cause of Rowdill change's extraordinarily high rent.

The distinctive nature of Rowdill as a settlement finally emerges in the 1754 rental, in which it was described as the "Town and Lands of Rowdill" at a rent of £ 242-13-4. The only other places on the Macleod rentals which were given a similar description occurred as follows in the 1724 rental. "Touns of Gauldir" (in Glenelg), and "Touns and graisings of Kirktoons (of Glenelg) when set to small Tennents £ 266-13-4 plus produce rents. But that the Deponent (Drynoch) himself had the sd Kirktoon from Roderick MacLeod of that ilk, and thereafter from Lady Isobell MacKenzie at Two hundred marks yearly rent". While there is no evidence for Gauldir, and none for Kirktoon after 1724, it is significant that Kirktoons was set to small tenants at a rent twice as high as that when set to a relative of the landlord.

The comparison between Kirkcubbin and Rowdill is especially interesting in this context as they could well be described as counterparts for their respective districts.

According to a report given to the Crofters' Commission in 1883, Rowdill in the early nineteenth century had 150 hearths, of which 40 paid rent, but in the year that "Young MacLeod" came with his bride to Rowdill all 150 families were evicted and their houses unroofed; some went to Berneray and some to the east coast of Harris. The figure of 150 families may have been an exaggeration, but the fact that Rowdill's tenantry in the eighteenth century were no longer listed by name could be an indication of their increasing numbers, and the overall impression is given of the thriving community which Rowdill must once have been.

Berneray, St. Kilda and new holdings also presented problems of interpretation in that they were not included in any of the seventeenth century rentals, and only the barest details were given in those of the first half of the eighteenth century. Berneray between 1633 and 1705 was held in life-rent by Sir Norman MacLeod; it paid separate amounts of cess, and tacks of 25 bolls, one boll of which went to the Harris minister which with the 47 from Pabbay and Ensay totalled his three chalders, the other 24 bolls going to MacLeod. The death of Sir Norman coincided with the Contullich Administration so there is no detailed breakdown of Berneray tenants or rents, which between 1706 - 1720 were 250 merks, increasing in 1724 to 300 merks or £ 166-13-4 plus "Teynde, beaydes cess for £ 400 valued rent". Some time between 1724-1735, probably in 1730, the Tack of Berneray included North and South Copiphall, making comparison of rents during the period even more difficult.

Also connected with the problem of Berneray was the strange affair of the missing holdings. According to seventeenth century rentals, a large part of the Harris mainland might never have existed, notably the east coast and the area west and north of present-day Tarbert. According to a part of the 1746 rental, the island of Berneray itself was valued at the 6d of Berve (which included the 5d of Shiaby mentioned in the discharge of Sir Norman Macleod to Iain Breac in 1660). The island therefore totalled 16d, but in all rentals of the Contullich Administration except 1707 it was rated at 20d; in that year and every other rental it, and its pertinents, were classed as a 25d, which leaves 9d unaccounted for. The 1746 rental also included in the life-rent certain lands in Harris, namely Niesbost and Geocrab totalling 5d, and Ardhasaig and Bunavineattora. Were these the missing 9d, and if so, why? According to A. Morrison,¹¹ the lands were possessed by Sir Norman as early as 1680, if not in his liferent, presumably from the fact of their non-appearance in the rentals. This does not exclude the possibility that the 1746 statement was inaccurate, and that some or all of the holdings were new, but the fact that the document was signed by John Campbell of Strond and Alexander Macleod of Luskintyre, a son of Sir Norman, makes it unlikely that it is in error. The query thus follows as to why these particular places in Harris were included in the liferent of 1633. First of all, there do not appear to have been any reasons why they should not have been included. Well established families of Macleod's relatives lived elsewhere in Pabbay, the Capi-phells, Seilebost, Taransay, Hushinish and Luskintyre in the early seventeenth century, and Niesbost was fully equal to any of these in agricultural potential. It possessed extensive machair land, reflected in its valuation, which cannot unfortunately be separated from that of Geocrab. There was certainly a landing stage at the latter holding as early as 1522¹², but it is doubtful whether it was highly-valued

since Scalpay, also on the east coast, was 1d and Finsbay $\frac{1}{2}$ d. It could perhaps have been Niesbost's shealing-site, as Finsbay was Melkile Borrow's in 1680. If it is assessed at a 1d, this makes Niesbost 4d, higher than any of its surrounding holdings. At Niesbost stands the Clach Mhicleoid, which could well have had some sort of correspondence, e.g. navigational, with the standing stone mentioned by Martin Martin on Taransay, especially as it is sited on the western slope of Ard Nisabost rather than the summit. Though Martin does not list it, he does include one in the neighbouring village of Borge, and may have got the two places confused. Anyway, the presence of such a stone - especially with such a name - may have been an indication of the holding's importance.

Ardhasaig and Bunavineattora fringe the forest of Harris, and the land itself is not particularly fertile. Yet these two places must have totalled 4d, according to the Berneray valuations. A pointer to their inclusion in the liferent occurs in the eighteenth century practice of Berneray tenants sending their horses to graze in the Forest of Harris, which was traditionally associated with the holdings of Scalpay and Hushinish. We do not know who held Scalpay in the early seventeenth century, but in 1633 Hushinish was probably held by a Campbell, perhaps the John Campbell who was given the tack of Strond in 1657. Sir Norman could then have taken over Hushinish; he held it between 1680 and 1703. From all the evidence, grazing and hunting rights in the forest were jealously preserved, and Sir Norman's two holdings would entitle him to its benefits¹³.

St. Kilda first appears in the 1706 rental when the Hirt firm is cited as 100 marks, the converted price of the 16 bolls of bear "and no more" shown in the 1724 rental. The 1725-1726 discharge contains

the item "St. Kilda fearm extends to £ 96-0-0", but in 1735 and 1746 the money rent was £ 86-13-4, e.g. in 1735 "By the Rents of St. Kilda given up to buy a boat, £ 86-13-4". This rent was doubled in the 1754 planned scheme of augmentation, but in the final rental is shown as £ 133-6-8, as is the valuation of 5d for the first time. The money rents may have been supplemented; Martin Martin describes the rents of St. Kilda as "Down, Wool, Butter, Cheese, Cows, Horses, Fowl, Oil and Barley"¹⁴. The only other supporting evidence of this nature is an entry at the foot of the 1751 charge. "I me to order hary Bain (boatmaster and later Ground Officer) to fetch in his feathers and putt them in new baggs being 17 of them".

The final anomalous group of holdings were those which appeared for the first time after 1724. Their rents, as those from Berneray and St. Kilda, were added to the rental totals which consequently expanded. The problem was thus one of whether to include payments from these holdings together with rents from original holdings in Harris, and it was decided against it for several reasons. Firstly, there is no knowledge of either Berneray's or St. Kilda's rents before 1706, and while those of the latter island were paid to MacLeod, those of Berneray went to Sir Norman in accordance with the liferent. Secondly, due to the lack of rentals between 1724 and 1754 we have no way of telling when new holdings first started paying rent. It is most unlikely that they coincided with new tacks, e.g. the change house and clittick of land following it at Rowdil in 1754. Yet totals of rent shown in factor's accounts were the same for year after year. Lastly, the main object of collating all the rents was a comparison of rents due from tenants and this was clearly of more value if holdings were unchanged throughout the period. There are various eighteenth century rent totals of Skye and Harris, and if comparison of MacLeod's income were needed they

could be used with those rent totals discovered in the thesis. Very few in any case existed for seventeenth century rentals, and some of these were patently incorrect.

Unfortunately, such figures were used indiscriminately by the modern historians to have studied Harris society during the period, i.e. Canon R.C. MacLeod and Dr. I.F. Grant. It is hoped that the analysis of their works which follows will explain why the background to the actual work on the rentals has had to be so detailed; some of their conclusions will be found to be of such a degree of inaccuracy that modern works¹⁵ which utilise their findings must lack a certain amount of authenticity.

Canon Macleod and the Book of Dunvegan.

Canon R.C. Macleod of Macleod was the pioneer of modern research into the history of the MacLeods. The youngest son of Norman, 25th chief, he was vicar of Pitford in Northumberland from 1897-1934, the year of his death, and for over 20 years of that time was involved in sorting and cataloguing the Macleod collection of some 7,000 documents which had survived the turmoils of previous centuries. The actual arrangement was done at Dunvegan during breaks from parochial business, and photographs were then taken of many documents which were later transcribed at Pitford. Ploughing through a heap of 200 or so discharges and accounts to unearth one or two of social interest makes one realise that, though it was the opportunity of a lifetime, it was also a lifetime's work and gives rise to the greatest respect and admiration for the Canon; as his daughter remarked, "order was produced out of absolute chaos" by means of "a truly Herculean task".

His researches culminated in the 'Book of Dunvegan', an inventory of, and commentary on, the more interesting documents. Unfortunately Canon Macleod died before he was able to revise the typescript, and in such a mammoth undertaking revision was essential for accuracy. W. Douglas Simpson, the editor of the Spalding Club under whose auspices the Book was published, was therefore put in something of a quandary which he described in the preface to both Volumes I and II.

In Volume I there is written "The Council wish it to be understood that the late Canon Macleod is solely responsible for the arrangement of the papers, as well as for their transcription and for the commentary.

The labours of the Club Editor have been restricted to those of proof reading, and few changes have been made in Canon MacLeod's typescript except in the case of obvious errors". In the preface to Vol. II he reiterated "In preparing the material for publication by the Third Spalding Club, the Club Editor has adhered to the principles set forth in the Preface to the first volume. That is to say, the responsibility for transcription, selection, arrangement and commentary is the late Canon MacLeod's: except for the omission of matter not relevant to the Spalding Club's field, few changes have been made in his text, and these only, for the most part, where errors were apparent. It is obvious that, quite apart from many cases where the original writ is difficult to decipher, errors will have crept into the typed copy. In a number of instances where it seemed that this had happened, the typescript has been checked against the original document. But it is equally clear that there will be other times when error has remained unsuspected".

The crucial question of validity is also discussed as follows, "Quite apart from this haunting question of textual accuracy, editorial responsibility has throughout been an anxious one. Particularly is this so in the present volume (II) where the bases of Canon MacLeod's monetary calculations, his conversion of Scottish currency into sterling and his comparisons of ancient with modern prices and values, are not seldom doubtfully apparent. The reader who peruses the sections which deal with these matters will come across many such cases. Here again, it seemed best to print Canon MacLeod's text as he left it. In this connection, the reader's attention is particularly drawn to the footnote on p.78".

On that page the following caveat is printed. "In the tables which follow it is not always clear on what basis Canon MacLeod has reached his totals. In some cases it is obvious that errors have crept in, but whether these are in the original figures which he extracted from various sources, or in his summation, it is impossible to tell. To bring the summations into formal correctness from the individual entries as given in his typescript would of course have been a simple matter, but this would be to ignore the possibility that errors have occurred in the individual entries. In all the circumstances I have judged it best to print Canon MacLeod's figures as they stand in his typescript".

The force with which the editor has felt it necessary to bring to the reader's attention irregularities in Canon MacLeod's text is an indication of their frequency and complexity. Errors appear to fall into three main categories of which the first is faulty summation, no doubt explained by the Canon's lack of modern aids such as electronic calculators. Thus his estimate that Glenelg was worth about a sixth of the whole estate, the proportion being pretty steadily maintained through all the changes in value (Vol. I, p.145), contrasts with his assertion on p.169 that in later rentals it was more nearly a quarter of the whole. Detailed and accurate calculations would seem to be needed to substantiate such estimates.

A second group of errors would appear to have been caused by omission or oversight. For instance in Vol. I, p.156, according to the Canon there was very little change in estate income for 25 years after 1702, and not until 1735 did a considerable rise take place. This is to discount the significant increases which occurred in 1724 when Norman

MacLeod assumed control of the estate. Another example of a crucial omission can be seen in Canon MacLeod's treatment of the 1697 and 1698 rentals (below p. 104).

Errors in the third category are much more difficult, both to identify and to amend: the Canon makes several assumptions and statements for which he does not reveal his sources, and which upon examination are not borne out by any of the available evidence. A major example of this deals with the value of the estate. In Vol. I, p.269 the Canon writes:

"Value in 1498 was as follows

Harris, Duirinish, Bracadale, Minginish,

and Lyndale, in all 20 unciates were worth £ 53- 6-8

Trotternish 2 unciates was worth £ 5- 6-8

Glenelg 12 davochs or unciates £ 32- 0-0

Value of whole estate £ 90-13-4

This was probably below its real value, as in 1527 we get some evidence which shows that the value was considerably higher than".

Canon MacLeod's choice of 1498 presumably rests on a charter granted to Alexander MacLeod by James IV of "the lands which are commonly called Ardmannach in Harris of Lewis with its pertinents, with all the small isles pertaining to the said Ardmannach, and the six ounce-lands of Duirinish, the four ounce-lands of Minginish, the four ounce-lands of Bracadale, the ounce-land of Lyndale, and the two ounce-lands of Trotternish": (Vol. I, p.2). Duirinish, Minginish, Bracadale, and Lyndale totalled 15 ounce-lands, and the Canon's estimate of 20d therefore apparently included Harris. But Harris itself in seventeenth

century rentals totalled a maximum 72½d, and Berneray, plus what we know of its lands in Harris (including St. Kilda) 30d, which made Harris 102½d, or over five ounce-lands. Waternish (in 1498 part of the Siol Torquill or MacLeods of Lewis) though valued at five ounce-lands in 1498 (Vol.I, p.7) in 1724 was only 72½d, or just over four ounce-lands, so Harris may have been six ounce-lands. According to Alick Morrison "We find in the Middle Ages that the MacLeod Estates consisted of 34 ounce-lands or uncials. A penny was really 1/20 of an ounce of silver, and hence the MacLeod Estates consisted altogether of 680d (i.e. 34 ounce-lands), of which Harris contained about 90" (no documentary source given).¹⁶ Glenelg is not mentioned in the charter but in 1340 two-thirds was valued at eight davochs and 5d (Vol.I, p.275). Later valuations give it variously as a £ 10 land in 1540 (Vol.I, p.37) 120d - six uncials - or 24 merklands in 1583 (Vol.I, p.19) and a 12 davochland (rentals). Townships in the rentals amount to 100d. For valuation purposes Canon MacLeod has equated the davoch and uncial, and valued them as of the old extent, i.e. £ 2 -13-4 per uncial (Vol.I, p.268). As more than two centuries had elapsed since its imposition its relevance is somewhat doubtful, and if the davoch were equal to 20d, one would expect to find the total valuation of Glenelg townships approximating to 240d.

It can thus be seen that a short statement on the Canon's part can require extensive unravelling, often without positive results. Such treatment is essential, however, in the interests of accuracy, and to derive full advantage from the material. In the section which follows an attempt is made to rectify those infelicities which most concern Harris. The first part deals with Canon MacLeod's totals of rents etc., many of which are inexact, and the second with incorrect statements of fact; this latter part may appear to be rather disjointed

and hyper-critical, but has been undertaken in the belief that though individual items may perhaps be insignificant the overall final impression is one of a serious misrepresentation of the true facts.

Since in a number of the Canon's rentals the produce rents are converted into money and added to the money rent totals, something must first be said about prices. On p.63 of Vol.II is stated "It may be noted that the rents paid on any estate are in themselves an index to the purchasing power of money, for rents follow prices. When prices rise, rents rise; when prices fall, rents fall. During the first 70 years of the eighteenth century prices were rising steadily". On p.65 is written "Rents follow prices and, on estates let on lease, follow them for some time after the latter have risen". The latter statement is not borne out by what is known of prices on the MacLeod estate; rentals and Factors' Accounts give the price of meal at eight merke per boll for the years 1701 - 53, with an interim figure of 6m-3-4 for the years 1706-20 (the tutorship). These prices were probably artificial, and were in any case notional from 1680 until 1720 at least since produce rents were apparently collected and put at the landlord's disposal. Thus any attempt to convert them into money is an academic exercise, of use mainly in a comparison with later rentals.

The question of prices will be discussed more fully in the section on produce rents, but it must be said here that Canon MacLeod's prices are not always in agreement with contemporary evidence. A critical example of this appears in Vol. II, p.145, in a contract between Iain Breac MacLeod and Donald Ross, Master Mason, dated 9.12.1664.

"£ 240 Scots money was to be paid, i.e. £ 20 sterling £ 20- 0-0

Nacleod was also to give to Donald Ross

10 bolls meal, then worth	3- 6-8
6 bolls malt " "	2- 0-0
8 stones butter " "	3- 6-8
8 stones cheese " "	1-13-4
16 wedders " "	<u>3- 6-8</u>
Total Cost	<u>£ 33-13-4</u>

Yet the actual contract does not give any prices (Vol.I, p.XLVIII) and we possess few seventeenth century prices. The earliest we have in any quantity are for 1701-3, when meal was £ 5-6-8 a boll as against Canon Nacleod's figure of £ 5-0-0, butter was £ 2-0-0 a stone (£ 5-0-0), cheese £ 1-0-0 (£ 2-10-0) and wedders £ 1-0-0 (£2-10-0). We have no evidence for malt until 1706, when it was priced at 12 merks per boll (£ 4-0-0). There is therefore a considerable discrepancy between the two sets of figures, with the Canon giving much higher prices for produce than was general in the first half of the eighteenth century. Yet, as will be seen later, his produce rents conversions are consistently undervalued!

On pp. 75-6 of Vol.II, the Canon gives prices for produce in the early eighteenth century as follows:

1. Bolls of bear or oatmeal, value £ 4-2-0
2. Harts, value about £ 10- £ 12
3. Butter in stones (the stone 24 lbs) scots value £ 2 per stone
4. Cheese " " value £ 1 per stone
5. Wedders value about £ 1-6-8

The prices of butter and cheese are consistent with early eighteenth

century accounts, but the price of a boll of grain (bear was of poorer quality and therefore lighter than oatmeal) is wrongly converted if, as seems probable, the Canon has taken the price of 6m-3-4 from Skye and Harris rentals of 1706-1720; 6m-3-4 is equal to £ 4-3-4. Marts according to the same rentals were £ 8-13-4 in Harris and £ 10 in Skye, and wedders in 1701-6 accounts were 1m-6-8 or £ 1-0-0.

In a list of various prices in Vol.II, p.66, produce rents are converted as below (Sterling amounts):

	<u>Eighteenth Century</u>	
	<u>Early</u>	<u>Middle</u>
A wedder	1-8	3-6 to 2-6
Butter, Stone (24 lbs)	3-4	5-0
Cheese	1-8	2-6
Boll Meal	6-8	6-8 to 8-10

According to early eighteenth century accounts, and 1735 and 1754 rentals, prices are as follows:

	<u>Early</u>	<u>Middle</u>
A wedder	1-8	2-0 to 3-4
Butter, Stone	3-4	4-0 to 5-6 ⁸ /12
Cheese	1-8	2-0 to 2-9 ⁴ /12
Boll Meal	6-11 ⁴ /12 to 8-10 ⁸ /12	8-10 ⁸ /12 to 11-1 ⁴ /12

Such differences in produce rent prices affect the money conversion totals of rents in kind, and will be dealt with separately as the rentals are discussed in chronological order on the following pages.

The earliest rental Canon MacLeod examined was apparently one for Skye in 1664 (copied by Lachlan MacDonald of Skaebost in 1885), subsequently found to be ca 1724-7¹⁷. The Canon attempted to calculate how much the estate was worth in 1664 by adding the Skye totals to ones from

Harris and Glenelg. In Vol.I, p.272 he states "We have no rentals of Harris and Glenelg in 1664, but it is obvious that for the next thirty years there was very little change in value. So we may take a rental of Harris in 1678 ... and conclude that (it) will approximately give the value in 1664 ... allowing for Sir Norman's rent charge, which is not given, Harris was worth 4,737 merks or £ 3,158-0-0".

If a 1678 rental for Harris were to exist it would be of tremendous value since 1678 is 19 years earlier than 1697, when according to Alick Morrison¹⁸ new tacks were set by Sir Norman MacLeod of Berneray, and it could thus provide much-needed evidence re seventeenth century tacks. Such a document does not appear amongst the rentals at Register House and nor does it exist according to I.F. Grant who 'burrowed' extensively in the Muniment Room at Dunvegan before the MacLeod papers were deposited in Edinburgh. In the 1680 rental money rents (excluding cess, teinds and mart money) total 2651 merks or £ 1767-6-8, and produce rents an estimated 2244m-2-6 or £ 1496-2-6. Plus the rent charge of £ 533-6-8 (Vol.I, p.270) this gives a Harris total of £ 3796-15-10, so the Canon's total of £ 3,158 therefore probably undervalues Harris in the late 1670's by some £ 600.

The next 'rental' which the Canon dealt with in some detail was that for Skye in 1683 (Vol.I, pp. 148-54), to which again he added rents from Harris and Glenelg in order to see how much income there was from the estate. The list contains numerous errors of transcription, possibly explained by the fact that Canon MacLeod may often have transcribed from photographs. He may also not have

been familiar with the townships and patronymics which would complicate an already intricate task; as the editor of the Spalding Club wrote on p. XXXIV of Vol.II, "This rent roll is in a very difficult hand, and some of the names are quite uncertain". One has the feeling that patronymics tend to be rather like crosswords; results improve with length of acquaintance.

The 1683 totals of silver rents are added to those from Harris in 1687 - an interesting choice since the silver rent list for that year is ambiguous in places, the words 'rents' and 'rests' being interchanged, and some pages scored through. It is to be wondered why Canon Macleod did not use the 1683 silver rent list from Harris or rather the money rent column from the 1684 rental as the Harris 1683 list shows rents paid rather than due. The Canon presumably accepted the total of 1960 merks 'on sight'; the corrected total amounts to 2010 merks. He also underestimates the value of rents in kind, which were probably nearer £ 1500 than the £ 600 he suggests (see p.328).

On pp. 83-4 of Vol.II is printed "A brief rental of ye Hairish as it was at Whitsunday 1697," in which an endeavour is made to convert the rents in kind as follows:¹⁹

At this time	Scots money		Merks
bolls of meal (156 lbs) were worth	6-3-4 x 180	=	1140 (1125)
stones of butter	2-2-0 x 149	=	323 (320-4-8)
wedders	1-6-8 x 96	=	144
mart money	8		<u>55</u>
Value of produce in Harris in merks			<u>1662</u> (1644-4-8)

This should perhaps read:

<u>A/Cs of ¹1705. ²1706</u>			
<u>³Rentals 1706-20.</u>			
			<u>Merks</u>
bolls of victual ($\frac{1}{2}$ meal $\frac{1}{2}$ beare)	³ 6-3-4 x 180	=	1125
stones of kitchen	² 2-3-4 x 149	=	335-3-4
wedders	¹ 1-6-8 x 96	=	144
Mart money		=	55
Marts	³ 13-0-0 x 8	=	<u>104</u>
			<u>1763-3-4</u>

1 = Factors' Accounts for 1705

2 = Factors' Accounts for 1706

3 = Rentals 1706-20

The Canon continues: "Value of Harris, including payments in kind 2041 and 1662, a total of 3703 merks. In 1697 Sir Norman of Berneray was still alive. His life rent not included in the total was 533 merks, so I add this to the total :-

	3703	
	<u>533</u>	
Total value of Harris in) merks	4236	
1697 including one-third) £'s Scots	2825	
of the tains) £'s		
	Sterling 235	"

However, Sir Norman's rent charge according to a 1640 valuation for Cess (Vol.I, p.270) was £ 533-6-8, i.e. 800 merks, which would make the corrected total 2041 and 1763-3-4 plus 800 = 4604-3-4 merks. Furthermore, while Canon MacLeod did include a rent charge which was to cover Berneray and its lands in Harris, he omitted to mention that in 1698 Sir Norman was granted a wadset of lands in West Harris and these lands were not included in the 1697 rental. In 1685 they paid

			<u>Marks</u>
Money Rent	=		972
Victual	45 bolls at 6m-3-4	=	281- 3-4
Kitchen	87 stones at 2m-3-4	=	195-10-0
Wedders	45 at 1m-6-8	=	67- 6-8
Marts	4 (included in 1697 rental)	=	<u>-</u>
			1516- 6-8 +
			<u>4604- 3-4</u>

So according to the Canon's hypothesis, the corrected total value of Harris in 1697 would be

6120-10-0 marks
£ 4080- 6-8 Scots
£ 340-0-6⁸/12 Sterling

N.B. The value of the rent charge in Berneray and Harris would no doubt have increased between 1640 and 1697.

Canon MacLeod also converted rents in kind from Harris in 1698 on p.155 of Vol.I. Again the wadset lands are excluded.

"Bolls of Victuall	-	158½
Stones of cheese and butter	-	112
Wedders	-	67
Cows	-	7
Mairt Money	-	49 marks
½ of teinds	-	150 and 24

Wedders were worth £ 1-0-0 in Harris".

If the Canon accepted the figured totals at the foot of the rental, the victual should amount to 150½ bolls, and he could perhaps have added firstly that the '24' referred to bolls of teind victual due from Berneray, and secondly that the tythes paid by the tenants amounted to

more than the 'laird's third pairt'. Corrected totals are 152½ bolls of victual, 116 stones of kitchen, 69 wedders, 7 cows, 35½ marks mairt money and a total of 246½ marks of teinds. Wedders were £ 1-0-0 in 1703.

On p.87 of Vol.II is a table of the estate in 1708, in marks reduced to Pounds Scots. Harris is included as follows:

" Money Rents	£ 1,364 -0-0	
Value of Produce	362 -6-3	
Teinds	157-10-5	
Cess	<u>111 -6-8</u>	
	£ 1,995 -3-4	Tenants 18 "

It is not clear from where Canon MacLeod has got his figures, as the 1708 Rental is somewhat different. According to the rental

Townships in Harris paid	1,744-6-8 marks	
plus	<u>543-9-2</u> , the price of 80½ bolls and 3 marts	
	2,288-2-6	
Berneray paid	250-0-0	
Tack Duty	50-0-0	
The Harris Cess	167-0-0	
MacLeod's Share of the teithes	236-6-8	
Hirt ferm	<u>100-0-0</u>	
	<u>3,091-9-4</u>	
	<u>£ 2,060-12-0</u>	

There are 14 townships mentioned in Harris, plus Berneray and St. Kilda.

A similar table for 1724 appears on p.88 of Vol.II, with the heading "In this year the estate was set on the following basis. I have omitted shillings and pence and taken the rents and value of produce to the nearest pound". The Canon does not indicate the prices used in conversions; in the lower line of corrected totals it has been found necessary to use 1735 prices in some cases on the grounds that, in the absence of prices for 1724, these were probably of more relevance than early eighteenth century ones.

The Judicial Rental of 1724

	<u>Money</u>	<u>Mart Money</u>	<u>Cass</u>	<u>Teinds</u>	
Harris	£ 1723	Included	Included	£ 573	
	£ 1723 ¹	Included ¹	Included ¹	£ 574 ^{1,2,4}	

<u>Marts</u>	<u>Bolls</u>	<u>Butter</u>	<u>Cheese</u>	<u>Wadders</u>	<u>Value</u>
2 = £ 20	89 = £ 371	49 = £ 98	19 = £ 19	56 = £ 56	£ 2,860
2 = £ 21 ³	91½ = £ 488 ²	49 = £ 118 ³	19 = £ 23 ³	56 = £ 67 ³	£ 3,014

1 = 1724 Rental

2 = Factor's Accounts 1725-6 (for prices cf p.289)

3 = Rental and Factor's Accounts 1735 "

4 = Teinds include 68 bolls of Teind Victual at £ 4-3-4 per boll (2)

N.B. This rental does not include the rents from the wadset granted to William Macleod of Luskintyre, which are shown in a separate rental made up from the oaths of the tenants.

The 1735 rental total given by Canon Macleod in Vol.I, p.156 is a few pounds out (£ 4,271 instead of the correct £ 4,278-15-4); that of 1740 is a few thousand - £ 1,714-0-0 instead of the £ 4,714-0-0 which is given in the Factor's Account for that year.

No breakdown is given of the 1754 rental, but the total is included in two lists of sterling rents from Harris. These are shown below with their equivalent in pounds Scots:

Vol. I, p. 156

	<u>Sterling</u>	<u>Pounds Scots</u>
1679	137-10-0	1,650-0-0
1735	365-10-0	4,386-0-0
1754	533-10-0	6,402-0-0

Vol. II, p. 96

	<u>Sterling</u>	<u>Pounds Scots</u>
1708	236- 0-0	2,832-0-0
1724	239- 0-0	2,868-0-0
1744	356- 0-0	4,272-0-0
1754	544- 0-0	6,488-0-0

If these totals are compared with those given in detail on p. 238, it may be seen that only rarely do they coincide, for the reasons shown above. However, the Canon's figures as stated require some clarification.

The earliest date chosen, that of 1679, is puzzling. No rental apparently exists for that year, and the Canon's total of £ 3,158-0-0 in the elusive 1678 rental is equivalent to £ 263-3-4 sterling. His previous rental total of 1708, £ 1,995-3-4, converts to £ 166-5-3⁴/12 sterling so his figure of £ 236 sterling is inexplicable. The 1724 rental is, however, similar, £ 2,860 being worth £ 238-6-8 sterling. Comparison of these three years' totals with later ones need to take into account that the 1679 rental presumably does not include cess or teinds, and the two latter those lands in West Harris which formed the wadset. The Canon's sterling total for 1735, £ 365-10-0, or

£ 4,386 is somewhat higher than the rental (see above), as is also the figure of £533-10-0 sterling or £ 6,402 which he quotes for 1754 - the Judicial Rental shows a sum of £ 6,374. Finally, though rentals exist for Skye in 1744 there are none for Harris, and totals have evidently been taken from the Factor's Account for that year which shows the sum of £ 4,266-10-4, i.e. £355-10-10⁴/12 sterling.

The foregoing survey has indicated that Canon MacLeod's valiant efforts to assess rents and prices were not always successful due to inaccuracies in the necessarily intricate calculations. He was, furthermore, faced with an almost overwhelming plethora of documentary material in the process of being catalogued by him, which is doubtless the reason for his occasional contradictory statements and errors of fact, the more important of which are discussed below.

In an introduction to the rentals printed on pp.79-88 are included "explanatory notes" relating to grassums, herezeld horses and curry cows. Canon MacLeod gives the accepted definition of the first two terms, and states that "between 1706 and 1720 payments on these accounts amounted to £ 832-6-8". He presumably took his information from documents which were drawn up for Norman MacLeod when he assumed control of the estate in 1724; deponents came to "ane fenced court" in Dunvegan to testify before Normand MacLeod of Drynoch, the Baron Baillie, as to the rents paid before the tutorship, and their current rents. Sundry other payments were also recorded so that a realistic assessment could be made of the estate's economic resources and, presumably, potential.

Depositions made re grassums and herezeld horses give a fascinating insight into people's way of life under the tutorship. Grassums to

the total of £ 740-6-8 had been paid at various times between 1708 - 1720, but the income from herezeld horses seems to have been a comparatively minor source of revenue. Eight were paid from Duirinish, but the Waternish ground officer did not know of any payments as he had been appointed only the previous year. In Bracadale, besides a horse, the tutor had variously accepted 9/-, 10/- sterling and a cow in lieu. The Ground Officer in Harris deponed that he knew of no payments of a herezeld horse save one from the relict of Murdo MacLeod in Pabby, "nor of any gratuity or good deed for any herezeld horse". Factors' Accounts throughout the period do not mention them, and though this traditional payment might well have been among those that went unrecorded the variety of alternative methods of payment, and the fact that the price shown for a herezeld horse - by definition the best beast on the holding - was lower than contemporary market values²⁰ would indicate that the practice was in decline.

Of the curry cow, Canon MacLeod states "I have been unable so far to trace this. It looks to me to be probably meant for the best milk cow due to the superior by the vassal succeeding to the tack of a deceased tacksmen". This does not accord with an entry in the 1698 rental, in which there is a total of eight marts. A postscript adds "Sir Normands Land payes 4 of the above writtn curry cows". The term would thus appear to be synonymous with a mart, corroborated by the mention solely of 'curry cows' in later Factors' Accounts and the disappearance of 'marts'.

Later Skye rentals mention items such as Hens, Horse Corn and Straw, peats and service days. The problem of 'Kains Customs and other Services' is discussed on p.302, but the payment of hens seems to have

flummoxed the Canon. In Vol.I, p.271 he cites poultry being worth three shillings (Scots) a dozen in the "1664" rental (really from 1724-7), and therefore "To make up the value given (£ 171-16-8) 8952 hens must have been delivered each year, and thus we arrive at the conclusion that enormous numbers of poultry must have been kept". On the basis of the Canon's figures the correct total would have been even more staggering, as £ 171-16-8 ÷ 3d Scots = 13,747 hens. However, there is no corroboration for this rental of 1724-7 because hens do not appear until the rental of 1744, and prices for them until 1754. Numbers in the latter decade seem to have been much the same, based on dozens, and in 1754 hens were three shillings Scots, or 3d sterling each. The Canon evidently transposed prices, as in Vol.II, p.76 he states "In 1744 large numbers of hens were paid, valued at 3d (Scots) each." It therefore seems most unlikely that hens were three shillings scots a dozen, and all other produce rents show nothing like such an increase in price between 1724 and 1754. If the price is taken to be three shillings scots per hen the printed rental shows that 1145 were paid in 1724, with a remainder of 1s-8d unaccounted for. This figure agrees with totals of hens paid from Skye in 1744 and 1754, i.e. 1228 and 1154 respectively. The theory that "enormous numbers" of hens were kept can thus be considerably modified.

Other incidental natural resources were kelp and wool. Of the former Canon MacLeod says in Vol.II, p.115, "It was no doubt the kelp which caused the Harris rents to rise from £ 356 in 1744 to £ 544 in 1754 ...". The first mention of kelp occurs in the 1754 rentals, where it is included as a separate item in some holdings, but by far the greatest amount of increase comes from augmentations in money and produce rents. At the end of the rent list there is also written "N.B. That such as pay for the privilege of making kelp have sett to them the privilege of

cutting were upon the sea-shore of the Lands sett and make the same into kelp or other ways at their pleasure". The incipient organisation of kelp-cutting and suggestion of alternative uses would indicate that the financial exploitation of kelp had not been fully realised in 1754.

Regarding cloth, on p.155 of Vol.I, the Canon raises the interesting point that "In Harris we find that rent was paid also in linen at $\frac{1}{2}$ merk an ell, in cloth at 8s. an ell, which shows the Harris cloth industry is at least as old as 1684. A plaid valued at 14 merks and tartan at one merk an ell also figure". Cloth is mentioned in several discharges and accounts during the 1680's and early 1690's, and the Canon evidently used an account of cloth received in 1688. Allowances given for cloth in this account, while they are in agreement with others for tartan and linen (the latter elsewhere also 8/- an ell) differ in that elsewhere cloth is generally accounted at one merk per ell. There is no mention of a plaid at 14 merks, and prices given range from nine to 12 merks with one exception at 16 merks. In Vol.II, p.74 he states "Plaid tartan and cloth are frequently referred to, but the word wool is never used, and I fancy that neither sheep or wool were exported in any quantities". The fact that cloth was made from wool was probably taken for granted, as linen is referred to specifically, and there is evidence that in the seventeenth century Captain Angus MacKenzie of Strond and Roderick Campbell of Taransay exported cloth and blankets. In 1735 Normand MacLeod's instructions to tacksmen included the proviso that yearling wedders paid as rent must be delivered unsheared.²¹

Another of MacLeod's sources of income was the third he was due of the Harris teinds. On p.158, Vol.I, Canon MacLeod states "In Harris the teinds figure on the credit side for 150 merks in a year (1697),

when this tack (of 1679) was still in force. These payments were, however, commuted for paying the stipends of ministers about the end of the seventeenth century, from which period we begin to find receipts for ministers' stipends". Yet on p.90 of Vol.II he also says "Before 1724 the ministers who owned two-thirds of the teinds in the Diocese of the Isles and three-fourths in the Diocese of Argyll, collected their own teinds, and MacLeod only paid his part of the stipend of the Snizort and Glenelg ministers". Since he was also responsible for the upkeep of churches and provision of communion elements, the probability exists that monies on the credit side would be more than offset.

Canon MacLeod appears to have taken some interest in the subject of land tenure. For instance, he made extensive use of the '1664' (1724-7) rental copied by Lochlan MacDonald of Skaebost and the 1683 Skye silver rent list to arrive at the conclusion that "The whole estate was let to tacksmen, and the masses of the people lived under the tacksmen and were their servants" (Vol.II, p.71). He develops this point on pp.154 and 272 of Vol.I, and Vol.II, p.118. From the 1683 'rentals' he noted that there were "179 tenants on the Skye estate and 59 in Harris. We know that the population of Harris a hundred years later was just under 2,000. Had the land been in the hands of the people we should find 400 tenants instead of 59. We have no means of knowing the population of the Skye estates but I am certain that here also, had the land been in the hands of the people, the tenants would have numbered something near 1,000 instead of 179". As regards money rents paid by the tenants he said "It will be noticed that a large part of the estate was in the hands of tacksmen paying from 80 to 200 merks a year, and this disposes of the allegation that the land was in the hands of crofters at that period". Re the '1664' rental he classed 73 tenants, holding 90 farms between them, as tacksmen, and the other 105, holding 24 farms,

as "smallholders, whose position was probably similar to that of the crofters at the present day". However, he states firmly in a conclusion (p.118, Vol.II) that "I am therefore quite convinced that the estate was in the hands of tacksmen, and that the bulk of the population lived under the tacksmen, and were cottars rather than crofters".

It is first of all necessary to modify the facts given above concerning rentals. The 1683 silver rent list named 175 tenants and 6 vacant holdings in Skye, and 81 tenants in Harris. Little reliance can be placed on the tenantry patterns evinced by the latter list since it contained only those tenants who had paid part or all of their rent. Even the Skye 1683 list does not mention tenants or even places occurring in the 1683 arrears lists, or later rentals and silver rent/arrears lists. For instance, according to Canon MacLeod's 1683 silver rent list there were 27 tenants in Bracadale and Lyndale. Yet in the 1683 arrears of silver rent 32 tenants are named.

From the above account, Canon MacLeod's opinion of the tenurial system evidently rests on a three-fold basis; firstly, the correlation of numbers of holdings with estimated size of population, secondly the amounts of rent paid by the majority of holdings and lastly the numbers of tenants per holding. The first is undoubtedly a very valid point.

Despite the caveat of rent lists versus rentals, the 1684 rental for Harris shows only 86 tenants, which even allowing for 10 in a family would indicate that there were many heads of families who did not appear in the rentals. Indeed, a comparison of rents paid from the different holdings shows that tacksmen or single tenants must have sub-let. For instance, in Harris there were holdings such as Rowdil, Ensay and the Isle of Pabbay in which for most of the period numerous tenants held

small amounts of land (sometimes only 1/64th of a pennyland) directly from MacLeod. There were other holdings which were traditionally held by one, or at the most two, tenants though these were too large to farm by one family. There are also instances where Ensay was held by one tenant, and more importantly South Copiphell and North Scarsta held by several tenants showing that such large holdings also possessed an internal structure of individual farms even though the latter rarely, if ever, appeared in rentals.

The trend observable throughout the period of smaller tenants disappearing, to be replaced by a single tenant responsible for a holding will naturally be reflected in amounts of rent paid. Canon MacLeod's argument that a 'large part' of the estate was in the hands of the tackmen in 1683 cannot be proved or disproved as regards Skye (for Harris see table on p.154) since the judicial rental showing sizes of holdings has not survived. However, the figures showing amounts paid by Skye tenants are somewhat surprising. There were 35 tenants paying rent between 80 merks and 220 merks (very few paying over 120 merks); 22 paying between 40 and 80 merks, and an astonishing 118 paying 40 merks and below. Corresponding figures cannot be quoted from Harris as the 1683 silver rent list included arrears from 1682. From contemporary accounts we know that in Harris very few large tenants paid nominal rents (p.249) and can therefore reasonably assume that payments of small amounts of rent were indicative of smaller holdings. Even though the size of holding of the larger tenants is not known, the proportion of small to larger tenants is 4 : 1. It would thus seem that, in Skye and Harris, the seventeenth century was much less the era of the large single tenant than the eighteenth century²².

From Canon MacLeod's various statements he clearly thought of the tenant hierarchy as a society divided into the three classes of tacksmen, smallholders and cottars. He did not explore the definition of 'tacksman',²³ but likened smallholders - by which he presumably meant smaller tenants holding directly from MacLeod - to early twentieth century crofters. The comparison was apposite inasmuch as both parties enjoyed some de facto security of tenure over a piece of land which was never theirs, but the use of either 'smallholder' or 'crofter' is misleading since they both imply later landholding connotations. Unfortunately, apart from prefixes, the word 'tenant' gives no indication of the degree of importance in the landholding system. In Skye and Harris tenancies ranged between 10d and 1/64 of a pennyland. It is a significant comment on the type of tenurial arrangement on the MacLeod estates that the term for a small direct tenant should be necessary; on other Highland estates the need did not arise because the land was divided amongst a few large tenants as shown by rentals of Gordons and Grants.

Despite the Canon's assertion that the land was in the hands of the tacksmen, and not in the hands of the 'crofters' in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries, the evidence points otherwise. Unfortunately we have no evidence of how much land was let to sub-tenants. Issue can certainly be taken, however, with the Canon's use of sub-tenants, servants and cottars as synonymous. True, sub-tenants were solely dependent on the good-will of their superiors for security of tenure, but in the Hebridean border-line economy this form of dependence was operative throughout the tenant structure. Some sub-tenants must also have occupied larger amounts of land than direct tenants depending on circumstances of location or natural changes in tenantry. If a sub-tenant were a 'servant', it would imply

that he had no sub-tenants under him, for otherwise he would have delegated his own labour dues, if such were paid (see p.302). The accepted definition of a cottar is a man who occupies only enough land to feed himself and his family in return for a certain amount of labour on the lessor's land. The gulf between the larger sub-tenants and cottars must have been vast; old people in Stratherrick, Inverness-shire, during the early 1950's traced with pride their descent from the smallest sub-tenants, but regarded families of cottar descent as "stationary tinkers".

Some of the higher positions in the social hierarchy were occupied by tenants fulfilling administrative posts on the estate, and these are discussed by Canon MacLeod on pp. 92-94 of Vol. II. Early eighteenth century officials he named as follows (p. 94):

<u>'Factors in Skye'</u>		<u>'Factors in Harris'</u>
1701-1706	John MacLeod of Mishnish	The same
1707-1720	John MacLeod of Contullich	The same

From contemporary Factors' Accounts, however, the list should read:

<u>'Factors in Skye'</u>		<u>'Factors in Harris'</u>	
1700-1706	John MacLeod of Mishnish	1703-1707	Malcom Campbell
1706-1720	Rory MacLeod of Ullinish) Norman MacLeod of Drynoch)	1706-1720	The same

John MacLeod of Mishnish/Contullich became 'Tutor' in 1706 and administered the estate as a whole. "The Harris factor was called the 'Chalmerlayne' and received £ 150 a year, £12-10-0 sterling", (p.92).

Malcom Campbell's 'Chamberlands Fee' was £ 80 between 1703 and 1706, the casualties of his holding of South Scarsta having been given him free for his service in 1702. In 1706 and 1707 he was still Chamberland of Harris at a salary of £ 213-6-8 per year, but Rory and Norman MacLeods were also designated Chamberlands "pr retired contract betwixt the late MacLeod and them dated 20th August 1706". They were paid £ 440 between 1706 and 1711, with a reduction to £ 373-6-8 in 1708 when Rory was given a payment of £ 80-0-0 for "ingathering the Harries rent". The 1712 accounts contain the item "To Rory and Donald MacLeods Chamberlands as formerly and of addition for uplifting MacLeods proportion of the Tythes and the ministers stipends not formerly used to be uplifted by the Chamberlands in Sky and Harries as also the bolle ... 900 merks (£ 600-0-0)". They received this payment until 1720, the last year of the Contullich Accounts, and also received £ 133-6-8 for Chamberlands fees in Glenelg in 1718, 1719 and 1720. The £ 150 salary quoted by Canon MacLeod was evidently the Harris Chamberlain's salary between 1735 - 1754.

Canon MacLeod also gives the salaries of other estate officials, notably the ones received by Ground Officers and Foresters. Of the former he writes on p.93 of Vol.II, "They received £ 26-13-4 each, £2-4-5 sterling, but after 1750 the Duirinish Ground Officer received £ 92-0-0, £7-13-4 sterling, while the others got about £ 40 each, £3-3-4 sterling". According to entries in the estate accounts the Ground Officer for Pinginish in 1706 was paid 62 merks or £ 41-6-8, and the other Ground Officers of Bracadale, Duirinish, Waternish, Lyndale and Harris a total of 202m-6-8 or £ 135-0-0. The same item appears in the 1709 Discharge. The Glenelg Ground Officer's salary was 25 merks (£ 16-13-4) between 1718 and 1720, and that of the Ground Officer for Harris was £ 26-13-4 in 1736, £ 36-0-0 between 1738 and 1753, and £ 40-0-0 in

1754 - a slightly more formal arrangement than the 1701 payment which was 'on cliftig free, moreover (he) has for his service on boll on ston and on weder'.

According to the Book of Dunvegan, Vol.II, p.96, a forester's salary in the early eighteenth century was £5-10-0 sterling. Mention is made in the 1706 and 1707 discharges of two foresters with a joint salary of 150 merks (£8-6-8 sterling). The only evidence available from later Harris Factors' Accounts is a reference to a 'depute forester' who was paid £ 20-0-0 (£1-13-4 sterling) between 1740 and 1753, and an entry in the 1754 discharge "By Scalpays charge for Foresters Fees £ 40-0-0" (£3-6-8 sterling).

The final point which arises from Canon MacLeod's work is an intriguing one. In Vol.I, p.158, he writes "Of repairs, so large an item of expenditure in later times, I find no trace; I fancy that the tenants, large and small alike, provided their own houses". It is true that there is little evidence on late seventeenth and early eighteenth century housing conditions; we are mainly dependent on later secondary sources. There are, however, entries in Factors' Accounts which describe materials and wages for extensions and repairs to "Dunvegan House", and two references to houses in Rowdill. The first occurs in the 1705 discharge: "Item to the repairing of MacLeods Houses at Rowdill in 1706 - 30 merks", and the second in a list of 'debursments' made by Malcolm Campbell in 1706: "To the repairing the houses of Roudale for McLeods service (besydes the 30 merks mony) two bolle four stones - 25 merks". We do not know what type of houses they were, but 'keeping houses' and 'girnels' are specifically mentioned by name, and MacLeod would presumably occupy only one dwelling in the village. It could thus be that these houses were tenanted by either MacLeod's servants or estate officials.

Dr. I.F. Grant and 'The MacLeods'.

Dr. I.F. Grant's work 'The MacLeods' (London, 1959) is to date the foremost comprehensive history of the family. It may well, therefore, be of value as a reference work on the political side of the MacLeods' affairs. Unfortunately, however, the chapters on economic and social matters contain numerous infelicities and these are discussed below.

Two major faults occur throughout the book. The first is that of statements made with insufficient documentation and checking of source material, especially that of Canon R.C. MacLeod. An example of the drastic effect produced by one such omission appears on p.349, where it is claimed the money rents from Harris in 1687 "totalled £ 8,716-4-6 while the value of rents in kind was estimated at £ 1,313". The source is given as the Book of Dunvegan, Volume I, page 55. But at the top of that page is written (following on from a description of the Skye rents):

Brought forward	£ 8,716-4-6
Harris money 1960 merks (in 1687)	£ 1,313-0-0
In kind estimated	£ 600-0-0

A comparison with contemporary rentals would immediately have shown the impossibility of a £ 10,000 income from Harris.

A second area of confusion is caused by dating, especially that of rentals. For instance, reference is made to rentals of 1694 (p.350) and 1696 (p.352), though an exhaustive search has failed to uncover either, or any indications of their existence. The 1696 rental would be especially valuable as it could perhaps confirm the hypothesis that new tacks were set on the MacLeod estates in that, or the following, year.

Dr. Grant usually deals with various topics in succession within the framework of a period in the MacLeods' history. For reasons of clarity, controversial points will therefore be discussed in the order in which they appear in the book though in this way some points will inevitably be of greater significance than others.

In the chapter dealing with social and economic affairs between 1660-1706 Dr. Grant firstly deals with estate documents, declaring on p.349 that "We are very fortunate in having a detailed rental of the MacLeod estates in 1684 ...", as well as "the drier entries of the Dunvegan estate accounts". In 1684 there is nothing like a 'detailed rental' of the whole estate. One exists for Harris, but Skye is represented only by lists of arrears and there are none for Glenelg, Berneray or St. Kilda. In fact a detailed rental, (i.e. a judicial rental with amounts of land held by the various tenants and rents due to the landlord) does not exist for the estate as a whole in any one year. This is because the first judicial rental extant for Skye does not occur until 1724-27, and we have little or no knowledge of the Glenelg, Berneray and St. Kilda tenantry. Dr. Grant, as did Canon MacLeod, classed silver rent lists as detailed rentals, but they provide only the bare minimum of factual data in that they show only those tenants who had paid money rent.

Over-optimistic use of Canon MacLeod's results appears further down the page. On the subject of produce rents is written "Nevertheless, the amounts of food-stuffs delivered were very large. Canon MacLeod of MacLeod estimated that valued at 3s.6d. a dozen, (the Canon quoted the price at 3s a dozen), 8,952 hens must have been delivered yearly and in Skye alone 399½ stones of butter and cheese". The hens were also from 'Skye alone' and it is surely dangerous to assume that

figures taken from a copy of one rental (1724-7 and therefore in any case outwith the period under discussion) are of relevance over a length of time, especially when the calculations based on that rental were erroneous.

On p.350, in a discussion of tacksmen, labour dues and tacks, Dr. Grant attempts to equate tacksmen and single large tenants. This was not necessarily the case as some tacksmen were evidently joint-tenants. As to labour dues, it is claimed "The lesser tenants and the sub-tenants were expected to perform a certain amount of work as part of their rent ... on MacLeod's lands it is noteworthy that the accounts mention considerable sums paid for winning peats whereas the carrying of peats continued to be an obligation on the tenants on one estate known to the writer down to the middle of the nineteenth century". In 1754 it appears that such services were paid, not to MacLeod, but to his chamberlain but as there is no evidence until that date it would again seem unsafe to apply these conclusions to the seventeenth century.

The Strond tack according to Dr. Grant was renewed in 1674. This contradicts the evidence in the 1685 Harris rental which concluded the "Tacks of ninetene years which he (John McKenzie) has possessed and enjoyed peaceably since his ffaithers death untill this tearme". No documentary source is quoted, and neither are there any for several statements on the same page which desperately need them. Ones which do appear are sometimes incorrect, as in the reference to Sir Norman MacLeod's liferent of 1698 which should read Book of Dunvegan, Vol.I, p.81, rather than the same page of Vol.II.

In an exploration of the various surnames to be found in the rent rolls, Dr. Grant declares "The retention of their own names by families settled on the land of MacLeod of MacLeod is rather unusual and is a gracious gesture". Gracious it might have been, but it was certainly not unusual as testified by numerous examples of 'foreign' surnames on seventeenth century Highland estates such as those of the Gordons, Grants and MacKintoshes.

The treatment of estate income is somewhat less than accurate. On p.351 is written "The income MacLeod actually received must have fluctuated considerably. In poor seasons, and Skye suffered with the rest of Scotland in the series of very bad years at the end of the seventeenth century, rents would not be fully paid". This was undoubtedly the case, but to prove her point Dr. Grant cites the following perplexing illustrations. "In 1696 the rental for Harris shows that out of a total of £ 803-19-4 the sum of £136-1-1½ had to be remitted. In 1706, 6463 merks and much of the rents in kind from Harris had to be remitted because of the failure of the crops in 1705. The Skye receipts fell from 27,980 merks in 1702 to 23,689 merks in 1703. They were then raised to 37,859 merks". As has been noted, the rental for 1696 has not been discovered by anyone other than Dr. Grant herself, and the sums quoted (assuming they are in Pounds Scots) do not agree with contemporary accounts, i.e. 1685 Rental £ 1,780-7-4, 1688 silver rent £ 1,100-8-8, 1697 rental (which excludes West Harris) £ 1,327-6-8, 1698 rental (ditto) £ 1,255-7-2. The 1706 figure is apparently taken from the Chamberlain's Account for Harris which contains the two items "Forgiven by MacLeod to Severals in the Harries of their Rests 1705 and preceedings ... 1596 merks", and "Given up by the said Malcolm Campbell Chamberland as resting by the tenants for Crop 1706 and preceedings, by and attour the forementioned Eases, at stateing

accounts of their poverty, as per the parish ministers attestation and the said Malcolm Campbell etc. ... 4667m-10-0". The total arrears of 6,263m-10-0 were, therefore, not the result of one year's temporary fluctuation but the culmination of a series of poverty-stricken years. Where Dr. Grant got her figures for the Skye receipts from is not clear, as estate income from Skye even after the enormous increases in rents in 1754 were only 29,405 merks.

Also on p.352 is an account of brewing and milling on the estate. Apparently "There was a brewhouse at Rodel and a brewer was employed at a salary of 273 merks per annum". In the 1680's one tenant at Rowdil was a 'Sandy Brouster alias Monro', but his salary is unknown. It is highly unlikely, however, that his salary would be as much as this as the chamberlain himself in the early eighteenth century received only 400 merks. The amount evidently originated in an item in the Contullich Accounts for 1705 wherein is stated "Item resting by Normand McInnis Brewer 273 merks". In 1706 he was given a gratuity by Macleod of 12 merks a year for life in land rent, an item which stayed in the Accounts until 1717.

Dr. Grant states that a certain amount of the grain was supplied to employees and given in charity, and the estate accounts testify to this. She also claims, however, that "Among many entries for such payments are bread and cheese for the men carrying homethe mill-stone in 1710. (The replacement of the mill-stone was a usual and very onerous Scots labour due, but here refreshment was provided)". Such an entry does not appear in the Contullich Accounts, and indeed the only reference to such an event occurs in the Factor's Account for Harris in 1740, viz: "To 3 pecks meal and 1 st. cheese to the men that were carrying homethe miln stones - £ 02-13-4". On p.357

is written "About this time (presumably the late seventeenth-early eighteenth century) mills were erected on the estate. The charge of high multures (the due for grinding corn at the laird's mill) was a widely spread Scots grievance. We do not know what MacLeod charged, but he spent a certain amount in building and repairing the mills".

The dates for the introduction of mills seem somewhat obscure.

Canon MacLeod (Book of Dunvegan, Vol.II, pp.73-4) found that mills were constructed at Dunvegan, Roag, Bracadale, Minginish andaternish, and also in Harris and Glenelg between 1732 and 1735, and rents from the mills in Skye do, indeed, appear on rent rolls from 1735 onwards. From the absence of such entries before 1732 the Canon assumed that they were previously ground by handmills or querns. Yet there is no mention of a mill in Harris at least as late as 1754, and Martin²⁴ in a section on the burning of Gradden remarks that "this barbarous custom is much laid aside, since the number of their Mills increased". Martin might, however, have been referring to handmills rather than to water-powered ones. In any case, references to grievances are clear enough. A Baron Court memorandum to tacksmen in 1735 states that they were to pay "all sort of airage and carriage used and won't in anie of the Low Countrys to the different mills to which They are thirled", which implies that there was either evasion or opposition. Every tacksmen was also obliged to pay his fearm in "kylldryed and shilled corn" under forfeit of his tack. Matters had evidently not improved by 1769 when they were again obliged, under penalty of forfeiture, to grind their corn at the mills to which they were thirled and an additional clause, suggesting a loophole taken full advantage of, laid down that if they for any reason chose to grind their own corn by querns they were still bound to pay their multures.

Dr. Grant then deals with estate officials. Her classification on p.357 of the smith as an estate officer is open to question. True, he had been a "most important functionary in the olden days", but in the seventeenth century accounts his status appears to have been on a par with the mason and wright. For instance, though he still received cash for "dressing MacLeods armes" (1706, 1707, 1714), he also wrought iron work for MacLeod's use (1706), dressed locks and bonds of the Keeping House at Roudil (1708), and a gunsmith (Murdoch Grant) is specifically referred to in 1706. The 1716 discharge includes the item "To Donald Gow, smith for dressing Macleods armes in 1716 and to 1700 double and single plencher nails for the use of Dunvegan House 40m-3-4". It would therefore seem that he followed his own occupation and was paid by MacLeod for any work done, rather than being retained as a salaried officer. There is no record of him ever receiving a yearly salary in the estate accounts, unlike the Ground Officers, Foresters, Porters, Pipers, Violers, etc., who appear regularly. As has been shown elsewhere (p.255) the Harris smith was poverty-stricken at the end of the seventeenth century.

Regarding the maintenance of "the old and the dependants who served him", Dr. Grant rightly observes on p.359 that MacLeod "well fulfilled his obligations - the accounts at Dunvegan abound with entries". Again, however, the examples used to substantiate her point can only be described as dubious: "In 1706 no less than 26 widows were receiving pensions or allowances of meal. In 1709 in the accounts of the Chamberlain of Harris among many entries of meal to poor women occurs the note of 8 bolls of meal to the widow of an 'umquhell' Chamberlain 'for supporting her young family of bairns that hath no other subsistence'; a good many pensioners also received wedders". The whereabouts of the document concerning widows' pensions is not

known, nor that re wedders; numerous accounts of 1706 mention the same four women, but these refer only to Harris. The '1709' account should read '1706', the date on which it was written having been altered from 1709 to 1707, and the widow of the erstwhile Chamberlain of Harris, Anna Campbell, was given support for her 'weale family of bairns'.

It is evident that Dr. Grant did not look very closely at the Contullich Accounts for 1713, either. On pp.359-360 she writes "The Accounts of 1706 have entries of the cost of 'MacLeod's Birlinn'. The last time such entries occur". The account for 1713, however, states "Item to Sail, Oak Ropes for rigging and the wages of three wrights for beating MacLeod's Birlinn - 176m-3-8". In a footnote an error of three merks is made in the charge for "3 stones ocum to the said Birlinn". We are also able to bring forward in time references to a falconer. On p.360 is written "The 1706 Accounts also have the last entries relating to the ancient sport of Falconry", and it is stated that the falconers' servants received £ 12 for uplifting three Aires. There was evidently only one falconer, whose servants were paid 12 merks, i.e. £ 8, and in 1713 there occurs an item "Resting by Patrick Campbell MacLeod's Falconer, insolvent - 51 merks".

Dr. Grant then describes the life of the 'Red Man' (Norman, 22nd Chief) and his political activities, and returns to social and economic affairs of the early and mid-eighteenth century on pp.478-9 and 485.

On p.479 the cattle trade is investigated; "In 1746 ... the value of the cattle paid in kind in rent from Harris was only £ 783-6-8, whereas in a good year such as 1742 it was £ 1,736-13-4". Usually a reference to "cattle paid in kind in rent" is taken to mean marts, but there is

a document in the Macleod Papers, Box 17Ae which states "Received from donald Macleod of Bernera my Factor in Harris in cattle one thousand seven hundred & thirtie six pounds thirteen shillings and four pence Scots, & by ane order of Luskinders seven hundred pounds". There is thus no evidence to prove that these payments actually came from the tenants themselves; in 1746 189 cattle worth £ 2,392-4-0 were paid according to the Factor's Account for that year. Unfortunately the one for 1742 does not mention any payments for 1742. The droving system is altogether so complicated that a very careful examination of all the available evidence would seem to be necessary before any conclusions could be drawn.

Dr. Grant next discusses eighteenth century rents, which were "still partly paid in kind ... It is interesting to compare the 2 rentals relating to Harris", and the following table is shown:

	<u>1697</u>	<u>1735</u>
Money Rents	2,041 merks	2,563 merks
	(£113-7s-9d Sterling)	(£142-1-10d Sterling)
Bolls of Victual	180	183
Stones of butter and cheese	149	122
Wedders	96	37
Marts	50	5

The first point to be made must be that the 1735 money total is incorrect, in that it was expressed in pounds Scots (i.e. £ 2563-16-8) rather than merks, to give a sterling figure of £ 213-13-0⁸/12d. Secondly, the two totals cannot properly be compared because in 1697 wadset lands, cess and mart money were not included in the money rent total. There are

errors of presentation, too, in that the '50' merks in 1697 should read 55 merks mart money plus eight marts, and the '37' widders in 1735 should read 95, the incorrect figure having been transposed from the adjacent column showing stones of cheese paid. Such a comparison is in any case an academic exercise, as there are so many qualifying factors to be taken into account such as the inclusion of rents from Berneray and St. Kilda.

"Several tables of the money value of rents paid in kind are preserved" (p.488). "For instance:

The Boll of grain	8 merks (8s-10d sterling)
The Stone of Butter	4s sterling
The Widder	2s sterling
The Mart	10 merks (11s-0 $\frac{1}{2}$ d sterling)"

No source is quoted, but the prices mainly correspond to those written on the back of the 1735 rental for Harris (prices of Skye and Harris commodities sometimes differed, a point that should, perhaps, have been made). The mart, however, should read 16 merks, i 10-13-4, or 17s-9 $\frac{4}{12}$ d sterling. This table gives rise to the interesting point that butter and widder prices at about this time fluctuated far more than other produce rents, which remained fairly stable²⁵.

Dependence on Canon MacLeod's calculations without checking on their veracity is well illustrated on p.489, where there is written re outgoings "Many of these items were variable, but it has been calculated that in 1751 well over 20 per cent of the total rental was absorbed in this way". Again Dr. Grant does not quote her authority, but she is evidently referring to the table published on p.95 of the

Book of Dunvegan, Vol.II, the outgoings on the whole estate. 1751 is not mentioned, but Canon MacLeod estimated that in 1744 outgoings were 23% of the net income, and in 1754 17%, which he thought were smaller than in previous years owing to contemporary life rents in Glenelg, and the fact that earlier outgoings were calculated according to the gross rental. Indeed, according to his statement in Vol.I, p.274, he estimated the total outgoings in the seventeenth century to be a little more than 33% of the gross rent. The Canon's estimates, judging by his other calculations, need not have been very accurate and a prolonged scrutiny of such general assertions would seem to be vitally necessary before they were accepted. At any rate, the choice of 1751 seems an arbitrary one, and is perhaps untrustworthy taken out of context.

"Between 1730 and 1754 the advances in rents had been considerable, although the proportion varied, for instance rents in Glenelg had been increased by about one-tenth, those of Harris by about one-third" (p.494). Dr. Grant's excursion into the hazardous area of rent increases is unfortunately not authenticated by what appear to be the facts. In the first place, her choice of 1730 as a basis for comparison is mystifying since no rentals exist for that year. Next, her increase of 10% for Glenelg might conceivably refer to money rent increases between 1724 and 1754, but since we have no record of Glenelg conversion prices, rents in kind cannot be included and these are necessary to give an overall picture. Dr. Grant also omits to mention that in the former year rents from St. Kilda, Berneray and the wadset did not appear in the Factor's Account for Harris since they were not paid directly to MacLeod, and the bases of her

calculations were therefore very different.

She continues, "In 1756 the total rental of the estate was £ 1,921-15-1. In the following year nearly all the farms on the estate were let on 19 years' leases and their rental was increased to £ 2,200 and in addition grassums, totalling £ 4,000 were also charged".

"Calculations made by Canon MacLeod of MacLeod, Book of Dunvegan, Vol.II, pp.76, 136 ... According to a note in the handwriting of the Red Man's grandson 'the General', the rent roll was increased to £ 2,560 in 1757. The letting of all the farms at one time was an innovation and does not appear to have been usual in the Highlands". The "note" follows:

Total Rent when I was born 1754	£ 1,921-13-4
Raised the year after to	2,560- 5-0
	N.M.

The years 1756 and 1757 should thus read 1754 and 1755. Where the odd 15s.1d. comes from is moot, as is also the nature of the relevant information which is said to appear on p.76 of Vol.II, but does not. Canon MacLeod's calculation of a rental close to £ 2,200 in 1754 does not agree with the total rental for the estate, (probably used by the General), which amounts to £ 30,723 or £ 2,560-5-0. Grassums, according to the same abstract of accounts, totalled approximately £ 3,848. Far from being an innovation, the letting of most of the farms occurred at least in 1724 and 1735, and there is evidence that this was the practice on the Gordon and Grant estates as far back as the sixteenth century.

In a final section on "How the clansmen lived", Dr. Grant on p.549 explores landholding and tenantry patterns. She holds that "As we have seen (p.350), the farms held jointly were far less valuable than those held by single tacksmen". On that page she uses as evidence the '1694' rental, of which only she is aware. There are otherwise no seventeenth century Skye rentals extant, and only one silver rent list, that for 1683. It is probably pointless to compare the rents of single and joint tenants, since the list of arrears for that year often show several people owing rent from a supposedly 'single' tenancy. However, the Harris rental for 1685 shows 1277m-10-0 due from single tenancies, and 1,392m-6-8 from joint ones, and there is no reason to suppose that this was an abnormal occurrence in the seventeenth century. Nevertheless, Dr. Grant's findings would hold true for the eighteenth century, in that there was a move towards amalgamation of holdings and sole responsibility for a tenancy (p.157).

Dr. Grant on p.549 writes "It is an interesting point that the numbers of joint tenants on different holdings varied. It is often said that the old Lowland farms had been divided into aughtenparts each representing the share of a man who contributed an ox to the eight-ox plough team and in Ireland the Baile had been divided into four, corresponding with the four-horse Gaelic plough team. If such divisions were ever more than theoretical they cannot be traced in the shares of the eighteenth-century farms on the MacLeod estates". Nevertheless, there is a slight indication of such a division, though a tentative one. In the Gaelic landholding system of pennylands, halfpennylands, farthinglands, clitticks, and kinoche, the farthingland was by far the most common unit. Indeed, other amounts of land often based themselves on this denomination, e.g. a half-farthing (two clitticks) or three-farthings ($\frac{1}{2}$ d + $\frac{1}{4}$ d). By contrast it is extremely unusual to find a

halfpennyland. Even in the mid-eighteenth century the $\frac{1}{2}$ d was still of relevance, though clitticks and kinochs had disappeared from the rentals, and it is commemorated today in hamlets prefixed by Leiphen. Since established farms throughout the estate were never less than 1d in extent, could the $\frac{1}{2}$ land's importance possibly be attributed to the Gaelic plough-team? It must, of course, be considered an academic question over parts of Harris and Berneray, as some of the land there could only be cultivated with the spade, but nevertheless it raises interesting possibilities that divisions were more than theoretical.

Dr. Grant goes on to say "Nor were the numbers of the joint tenants always the same. Rentals from Harris give the following figures for all holdings held by more than one tenant". She then compares the years 1754 and 1770, the former year of which follows:

Meikle Scarista	8	Joint Tenants
Little Scarista	3	"
Borve	2	"
Scalpay	2	"
Taransay	5	"
Pabbay	2	"
Kirkton of Pabbay	7	"

A closer look at the 1754 rental might have produced a slightly different table. The first two townships did contain the stated number of tenants, and so did Scalpay, but the other figures are incorrect and, moreover, misleading. 'Borve', which should read 'Meikle, Middle and Little Borrows', was held by only one tenant; Horgisbost, the adjacent holding, by two. It is unhistorical to class the whole island of Taransay as a single tenancy as traditionally it was divided into the three

holdings of Pablie, Raa and Eife occupied by two, three and one tenants respectively (making six in all) in 1754. Similarly, the island of Pabbay was not in itself a holding; in 1754 the landholding pattern was an isolated example in that 6d of the 7d of Kirktown was held by seven joint-tenants, and the other 1d held jointly with the holdings of Lingay and Northtown by two tenants. The normal landholding pattern was that of several tenants in each of the three townships, and Dr. Grant should possibly have made this point as it would affect the comparison with numbers of joint tenants in 1770.

The above examination of the works of Canon MacLeod and Dr. I.F. Grant shows that in many respects their conclusions were invalid. Only representative examples have been selected and other errors are discussed where relevant in the text. It is hoped that the overall result of the survey underlines the necessity for historians to compare their findings with the original material.

Nonetheless, the above caveat observed, notes at the end of each chapter illustrate the intrinsic value of their efforts, and especially just how much of a pioneer Canon MacLeod really was. To his initiative present and future historians can only be indebted.

NOTES TO CHAPTER 3

1. Examples from Gordon, Grant, MacDonald and MacLeod rentals.
2. The former expression originally referred to the provision of a horse for ploughing and carting, and the delivery of fuel to the home farm. Sometimes 'long carriages' were included which meant that tenants had to carry goods from outlying districts, e.g. building materials. By the seventeenth century its meaning was more or less indefinite and as such was abolished in 1747.
3. Quoted in A. Morrison 'The Contullich Papers'
Transactions of the Gaelic Society of Inverness, Vol.44, p.312.
4. Printed in *ibid*, pp. 313-346.
5. A. Morrison, 'The Contullich Papers'
Transactions of the Gaelic Society of Inverness, Vol.43, p.207.
6. An interesting point which favoured the decision was that the 1735 rent of Berneray, South and North Copiphell was £ 349-6-8. If the Copiphell rents are taken as £ 166-13-4, that of Berneray was £ 182-13-4. In 1724 the two rentals variously show Berneray at £ 166-13-4 and "was £ 166-13-4. But that Talisker and Ullinish, MacLeod's Chamberlains at the last sett were demanding Three hundred merks money rent which the Deponent (William MacLeod of Berneray) did not undergee to pay". A compromise between the two figures amounts to £ 183-6-8, or one merk more than the presumptive rent in 1735. The 1746 rental for South and North Copiphell amounts to £ 253-17-4, only slightly higher than the 1724 rent plus produce rents taken from part of a rental found in a box of discharges and accounts dated 1735.
7. The "little shieling in Scarp" included in the 1698 wadset paid "sometymes 20 merks and sometymes the half" - a similar amount of rent.

8. Rowdil was intriguingly assessed for teinds and cess as a 4d. One wonders why it was classed only as a 1d when its soil was so rich.
9. Factor's Account in MacLeod of MacLeod Box 17AC.
10. In 1684 the rental contained only a few names for Rowdil, including estate officials, but there also existed an undated document in the same handwriting which showed a rental for Rowdil with contemporary names of tenants. As none were duplicated in the incomplete 1684 rental, the list could be a continuation, but in that case the total amounted to 1d one clittick and three kinochs. In the 1703 assessment, the land valuation of Rowdil was made difficult by the amount of land attributed to a tenant called Normand mc innis vic doill vic william. In 1703 he apparently held half a clittick, but immediately below his entry was written in different ink "The sd Normand has 1 clittick for 1704 for 20 merks", and later in the rest list "1 clittick Normand McInnis in Cropt 1704 20 merks". This could mean that an additional half clittick was to be set to him in 1704, or alternatively could indicate that in 1703 he was the tenant of another clittick which was due for payment only in 1704. Normand was evidently the brewer and owed 273 merks for '1705 and preceedings', probably connected with an item in the 1706 discharge: "Item to Normand McInnish Brewer at Roudill for repairing the kiln and brewhouses there pr MacLeod's verbal order". However, another item in the same discharge does not help the situation: "To Normand McInnish alias MacLeod of Gratuity pr Ditto allowance during life in Land Rent, 12 merks". This was paid until 1718, and is strange as no similar patronymic, e.g. Angus mc coill vic william (i.e. Norman's father) is shown on contemporary Harris documents. The explanation must be that he found difficulty in

paying his rents in the early eighteenth century and retired in 1705; in that case he would hardly be likely to take on an extra clittick. If Norman's land is thus calculated at half a clittick, and Gillichallum McEan vic gillichallum's holding, which was altered from 10 to 20 merks and finally crossed out altogether (tenant lists for Ensay and South Copiphell), is omitted, tenancies in 1703 amounted to a pennyland exactly; otherwise the total was a possible two, two and a half or even three clitticks extra.

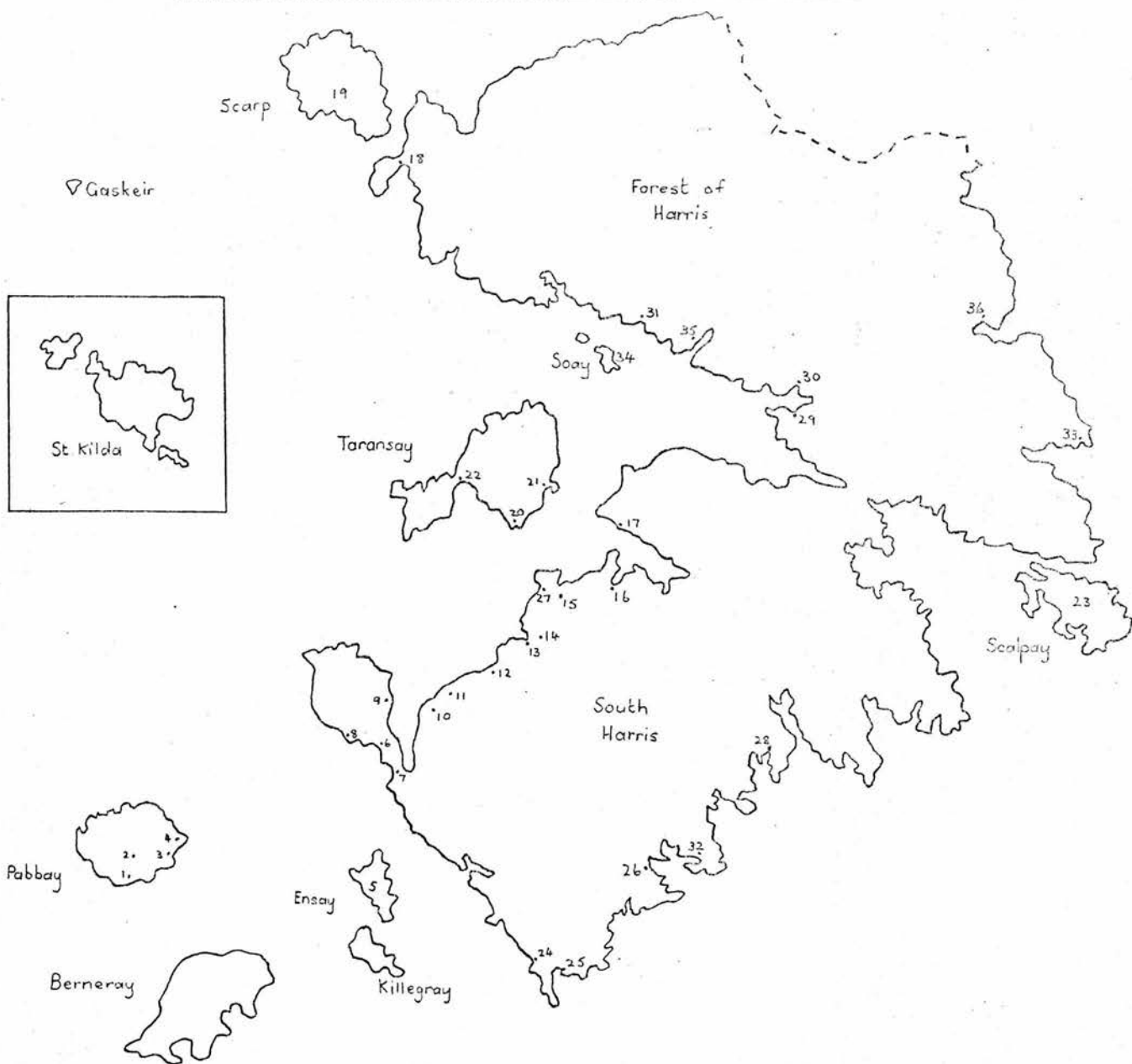
11. Transactions of the Gaelic Society of Inverness, Vol.15, p.46.
12. Genealogy of the MacLeods, Vol.III, p.253.
13. An intriguing point occurred 130 years after the liferent, when possession of land in the isthmus of Tarbert was disputed between Scalpay and Luskintyre. Ardhasaig was by far the nearest holding to the isthmus, which seems to indicate that its sphere of influence extended northwards rather than eastwards, i.e. into the Forest of Harris.
14. 2nd Edition, p.289.
15. The two latest examples are 'The Islands of Western Scotland' by W.H. Murray, (London, 1973), and 'Skye' (The Island Series) by Frederick C. Sillar and Ruth M. Meyler (Newton Abbott, 1973).
16. Transactions of the Gaelic Society of Inverness, Vol.XV, p.35.
17. Factor's Account, 1706, Box 17AC.
18. The list of silver rents received from Skye must be differentiated from actual rentals since the latter record the amounts due in produce as well as money rents.
19. Minor errors of detail include some mis-spelling, e.g. lrl, which should be lgh (Eile), North and South Charistar (Skaristay), Birkpenny (Kirkpenny) and Marrahbig (Marrahvig). In Eile the widow's fardine land paid a 'yearely' rent of the stated amount,

and mistakes in rent due occur in Strond, whose rent was 70 rather than 140 merks, and Marrahvig and Scalpay which were due to pay 110, not 100 merks. The end column of the rental, totalling eight marts, has also been omitted.

20. Prices in the 1680's varied between 14 and 21 merks.
21. Alick Morrison in the Transactions of the Gaelic Society of Inverness, Vol. XLV, p.53.
22. For the eighteenth century position cf footnote Grant, The MacLeods, p.550.
23. The description of the Strond tack on p.272 is erroneous in that it states the duration to be life, John McKenzie's son's life and 19 years - the tack was in fact for life plus 19 years. Strond was also, according to the Canon, rented in 1698 for 140 merks, but its rent was in that year reduced to 70 merks.
24. History of the Highlands and Western Islands of Scotland, 2nd Edition, (1716), p.143.
25. One has the feeling that changes in some instances were dictated more by factorial convenience than by economic considerations. For instance, in the accounts of 1735 and 1737, butter was 4/- sterling a stone, cheese 2/- sterling and wedders 2/- sterling each; in those of 1738 and 1740 85 wedders amounted to £ 144-0-0 instead of the (previous) figure of £ 114-0-0, which they were subsequently in 1742/3 and 1744. In 1747 wedders were omitted and cheese upped to 3/- per stone. By 1752, and the next detailed account of income, butter had apparently dropped to 4'ss' or 2 - 2⁸/12d sterling per stone, cheese 2'ss' and wedders the same. This value was also given for 1753. The last price we have from the estate accounts, that of £ 2 for wedders in 1755, agrees with the price given for them in the 1754 rentals wherein butter was valued at £ 3-6-8 per stone and cheese at £ 1-13-4 per stone. It would, therefore, perhaps, have been of

greater value if Dr. Grant could have modified the table to show instability of certain prices.

APPROXIMATE SITES OF HARRIS TOWNSHIPS 1680 - 1754



- | | | |
|--------------------|-------------------|--------------------|
| 1. Kirktown | 13. Middle Borrow | 25. Rowdil |
| 2. Lingay | 14. Little Borrow | 26. Finsbay |
| 3. Middletown | 15. Horgisbost | 27. Niesbost |
| 4. Northtown | 16. Seilebost | 28. Geocrab |
| 5. Ensay | 17. Luskintyre | 29. Airdhasaig |
| 6. Eile | 18. Hushinish | 30. Bunavineattora |
| 7. Drimfuint | 19. Scarp | 31. Clashmeal |
| 8. South Copiphell | 20. Pablie | 32. Quidnish |
| 9. North Copiphell | 21. Ra | 33. Renidile |
| 10. South Scarsta | 22. Eile | 34. Island Soy |
| 11. North Scarsta | 23. Scalpay | 35. Meavaig |
| 12. Meikle Borrow | 24. Strond | 36. Maravig |

CHAPTER 4 - HARRIS TENANTRY 1680 - 1754.

The mainland of Harris is approximately thirty-five miles in length from the southern coast to the boundary with Lewis and between eight and eighteen miles in width (map p.141). Climatic conditions of two centuries ago from contemporary accounts seem to have been roughly similar to those of today, i.e. of long, wet and gale-ridden winters punctuated by short, changeable summers. Unfavourable weather conditions and poor soil quality brought the result that 95% of the islands 133,176 acres "will entirely baffle the art of the husbandman for ever"¹. Even today only 195 acres out of almost 35,000 in North Harris are under arable cultivation.²

The geological formation of Harris is one of the Lewisian gneiss ridges lying in a South-West - North-Easterly direction which reach a height of 2,622' in the Forest of Harris and 1,654' in the South of the island. The mountainous interior is mainly moor and bogs, with occasional bare patches of ice-scraped rock. This terrain continues unbroken to the eastern shore-line, and what little soil there is on this coast is shallow, poorly-aerated and lacking in lime, nitrates and potash.³

The south and west coasts, however, are very different in appearance, being bordered by long sea beaches from which shell-sand is blown to form dunes covered in marram grass. This encroachment gradually reduces the cultivable area of machairland so that during the seventeenth century it must have been far more extensive than today. Indeed, in the late eighteenth century lands which had been ploughed within living

memory had disappeared beneath the sea.⁴ Eventually, however, the sand combines with the underlying peat to form a light, lime-rich soil which is suitable for pasture and if well-fertilised will also grow root crops and grain. On higher ground towards the hills the soil improves forming a mixture of sand and clay mould which gives a rich, black earth. The south-east corner of the island is geologically unique, being blessed with a soil of red loam, the richest in Harris.⁵ On the principal off-shore islands of Pabbay, Ensay, Taransay and Scarp which vary from one to two square miles, the soils are similar to those of the West Coast.

Precise location of settlements during the period is difficult. Part of South East Harris and almost the whole of the northern part between Tarbert and Lewis is not referred to in rentals or Factors' Accounts until 1746 (see p. 91). Other named settlements were peripheral, from Rowdil in the south-east to Hushinish in the north-west. They were mainly situated between the machairland and the upper soils, i.e. between those areas which could be cultivated by the plough and those where lazy-bedding was necessary. In accordance with Dean Monro's observation on Harris that there was "twisse mair of delving in it nor of tilling",⁶ these green lazy beds stretch far into the hills, often as high as 500', a reminder of methods of cultivation and land valuation which vanished centuries ago.

STABILITY OF VALUATION IN HARRIS 1680-1754 in Pennynylands

	1680	1684	1685	1685	1687	1688	1691	1701	1702	1703	1706	1707	1708	1709	1710	1711	1712	1713	1714	1719	1720	1724	1725	1746	1754	Predominant valuations 1687 1724 1754
Township	7	7	7	7	7	7	7	7	7	7	7	7	7	7	7	7	7	7	7	7	7	7	7	7	7	7
Kirkcubbin	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2
Lurgay	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2
Middletown	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2
Northtown	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3
Ensay	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3
Eve	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3
Drumfrunt	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
S Copsphell	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2
N. Copsphell	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2
S. Scarsta	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3
N. Scarsta	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4
Nickle Barrow	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2
Middle Barrow	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2
Little Barrow	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2
Horsebott	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2
Sealebott	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2
Luckantyre	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3
Hushenish	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4
Scarp	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4
Pakke	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3
Raa	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4
Eve	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Seapays Marring	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4
Shrend	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4
Total	70	70	70	70	70	70	70	70	70	70	70	70	70	70	70	70	70	70	70	70	70	70	70	70	70	70
Finstay	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Rendil	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
TOTAL	71	71	71	71	71	71	71	71	71	71	71	71	71	71	71	71	71	71	71	71	71	71	71	71	71	71

LAND VALUATION IN HARRIS.

The formal land valuations in use in the seventeenth century and eighteenth century Highlands are a fascinating and wonderful topic. Of all the items in the rentals they alone are constant, as they had remained constant during the centuries following their original introduction by the Norsemen, in recognisance of the basic agricultural struggle of man versus nature. Throughout those centuries a unit of land possessed an individual identity distinct from the generations of men who worked it. "The pennyland of Scalpay", "The Fivepennyland of Strond" had a timeless quality which disappeared when the land was defined by man-made measurements of area, and altered its significance to one with financial connotations, e.g. "Strond, being x acres in extent".

The practice of calculating the potential fertility of a holding in pennylands was widespread throughout the western isles.⁷ According to Canon MacLeod, Harris in 1498 was valued at five uncates or 100 pennylands, but seventeenth century valuations in MacLeod's rentals of Harris itself only added up to just over 70p. The relevance of Norse land valuations was bound to be affected by later changes in cultivation and productivity, and by the eighteenth century their main purpose seems to have been one of identification. Nevertheless, their retention was helpful in showing comparative values of holdings, and in a correlation with rents.

One would have expected those farms with the highest values to occupy the best soils. This, broadly speaking, is what emerges from a comparison of land valuations with the earliest detailed description of Harris farms in the Old Statistical Account. The islands were given

a high rating - altogether they accounted for 32d of the 1680 total of 71 $\frac{3}{4}$ d. Contrasts in productivity can be seen between farms - for instance, Luskintyre on the West Coast, rated by its present occupant to be the best and easiest farm to work on the whole island, was 3d, while Finsbay on the East Coast was only a halfpennyland. This farm must have been difficult to work profitably in spite of its wide-spread area as it was usually held jointly with another farm, and a tenant who depended on it for his livelihood was given reductions in produce rents, money rent or both.

Essential stability of valuation in Harris is shown in the table on p./44 taken from the land held columns in the rentals: 23 of the 26 holdings were predominantly the same throughout the period. However, it also shows several anomalies and interesting features.

It must of all be noted that some figures shown on the table were clearly errors and these have been indicated as Scalpay in 1706 and 1707. Other irregularities also affected the table; the holding of North Copiphell until 1703 regularly included a pennyland of South Copiphell, shown separately, and North Scarsta in the 1724 rental of sums paid in the time of Iain Breac was divided into two holdings of 3d and the 'Kirkpenny'. Pablie in 1746 and 1754 was classed as a 3d and separated from its former constituent holding of Clashmeal. Part of the 1746 rental is missing as it was divided into separate sheets, only some of which have survived. West Harris holdings in the wadset are also not shown between 1697 and 1724, though there is no reason to think that their valuations differed widely during that time as they were amongst the more stable holdings.

The 'Predominant Valuation' columns show valuations which have been assumed to be the correct ones for various years of the period. The difference of $1\frac{1}{2}d$ between the total valuations in 1680 and 1754 is accounted for by the absence of the 2d of Middletown in the latter year, offset by $\frac{1}{2}d$ in South Copiphell and $\frac{1}{2}d$ in North Copiphell, two holdings notorious for their instability. The maximum valuation of holdings would therefore appear to have been $71\frac{1}{2}d$ plus the $1\frac{1}{2}d$ of Rowdil and Finsbay, a total of 73d. Yet according to Canon MacLeod the original valuation of Harris amounted to five unciales or 100d, and the difference between the two figures is undoubtedly due in part to the 25d of Berneray, omitted from early rentals. This leaves 2d of the 100d unaccounted for, but on the other hand St. Kilda is not included; in 1754 it was rated at 5d. However, this anomaly is not really surprising, taking into consideration the fact that the valuations were imposed centuries previously. As regards the individual Harris tenancies, while the table shows that their valuations were remarkably stable it also shows enough exceptions to indicate that land measurement was by no means rigid or static and to a certain extent developed to meet the changes in economic circumstances which occurred during the period, as exemplified in the island of Pabbay.

According to the Harris rental of 1724 Pabbay had "once" been valued at 16d, agreeing with the statement in the Old Statistical Account that it had "once" been the granary of Harris. During the late seventeenth century it was divided into four holdings which altogether totalled 14d. A sandstorm in 1696-7 overwhelmed the south-east coast of the island and from then on the 2d holding of Middletown disappeared, any remaining lands being added to those of Northtown which is shown in the 1698 rental as "now 3 pennies", its previous valuation. Both 1724 rentals value the island as 10d; by 1735 it increased to 12d, but in

1754 it had lost 3d from the joint valuation of Lingay and Northtown so was the lowest it had ever been at 9d. This fluctuation can only be explained by a steady encroachment of sand on the south-east coast and possible attempts to extend the machair.

Another area where land was held in a bewildering variety of combinations was the south-west coast and promontory of Copiphell. The island of Ensay - described in the Old Statistical Account as 'verdant all over and having a good soil well-cultivated' - was valued at 4d, but it was usually combined with the 1½d holding of 'the Eye', the strip of land between the two Copiphells and Drimfuint. Since the earliest Ordnance Survey map shows a similar extent of arable land on the Eye and Ensay, with a 2½d difference in their valuation, the holdings of Drimfuint, North and South Copiphell could also have held land on the strip. Drimfuint was sometimes held jointly with Ensay and the Eye and sometimes with the Copiphells. One pennyland of Northtown was regularly held jointly with the Southtown holding until 1703; there is no evidence from maps to show where Southtown lay, but the ruins of the chapel on the southern tip of the promontory are surrounded by lazy beds and arable land. The area could thus have been Southtown, or possibly the pennyland which Northtown used with Southtown itself situated further to the east. Interestingly, as the population of these settlements declined to the point of desolation the farm of Drimfuint came to be called Northton.

On the west coast of Harris were a number of holdings with approximately similar values ranging from the 2d of Seilebest to the 4d of North Scarsta, often divided into two holdings of 3d plus 'the Kirkpenny'. The closeness of the valuations suggests some sort of planned settlement but may only have been so because of the similar terrain on the

west coast. The latter theory is supported by the valuation of the three holdings of Meikle, Middle and Little Borrow which, in 1754, were jointly cited as the 8d which they could well originally have been. More usually, however, they were each referred to as a 2 $\frac{1}{2}$ d, totalling 8 $\frac{1}{2}$ d.

Hushinish and Scarp were held jointly for most of the period. The Old Statistical Account described the soil of Hushinish (3d) as a rich mixture of black earth and shell sand and Scarp (2d) as a "high, round, rocky island". Much of the north-west coast and part of North Harris could have been included in the valuation of Hushinish since no mention was made of the area in rentals. It could be, however, that as the Forest of Harris it was either attached to the holding of Scalpay, or perhaps "in the laird's hands" and therefore not assessed for rent. Included in the description of Harris written between 1577 and 1595 is the entry "Thair is ane fair forrest called Otterisdall in this ile, quhairin is mony deer and thairthrow pleasand hunting, albeit it be but 20 merkland of auld extent".⁸

The island of Taransay was valued at 1ld which possibly included the township of Clashmeal on the north-west coast of Harris, the island of Gaskeir and the island of Soay. From the Old Statistical Account it appeared that Gaskeir was used for pasturage; 12 heifers and a bull were taken there in August and brought back the following June "in high order", each cow having had a calf.⁹ Taransay itself was described by Monro as having "maist abundance of beir, meile of corn, store and fishing" despite being predominantly spade-cultivated.

On the east coast, the island of Scalpay and the settlement of Maravig about eight miles to the north were together valued at a pennyland.

Scalpay itself, possessing a 'notable harbour'¹⁰, was valued according to various rentals at 2/3d, 2d and 1d, and only rarely was Maravig held on its own, though Martin Martin's 'Marvag - houses' indicates a settlement there¹¹. Later in the period the township of Rainigdale, midway between the settlements, was added to the holding of Maravig.

To the tackman of Strond in 1657 was let "all and hail the pennie land of Strond, the pennie land of Todpe and the thrie penny land of Kelligrae togidder with the small islands belonging thairunto"¹². Except for the very occasional mention of "Strond and Killegray" these other parts of the 5d do not appear in the rentals. It is therefore reasonable to assume that other holdings also had their unnamed 'pertinents', but, as Strond is the only extant written tack no certain conclusions can be made.

This absence of information on constituent parts of holdings makes it very difficult to assess trends in land valuation. The table does, however, show that after about 1700 there occurred frequent amalgamations of holdings, e.g. Ensay, the Copiphells, Drimfuint, Lingay and Northtown, and from 1724 there are examples on every rental. Sometimes the cause was administrative; in 1698 the holdings of Horgisbost, Seilebost, Luskintyre, Hushinish and Scarp were included in Sir Norman MacLeod's wadset, but more often the cause would appear to have been one of expediency in that if a tenant was willing to take the responsibility for a combined holding it was easier to collect rent from him rather than from several smaller tenants.

On the other hand, while tenants who had previously enjoyed a direct relationship with MacLeod were, in the eighteenth century, increasingly liable to be sub-tenants of large landholders, inhabitants of remote

areas such as "a bay in the forest" suddenly found themselves accountable for rent in a move against undervaluation of holdings. In the 1746 rental mention is first made of 'bays', e.g. 'Scalpay with its bays', and in that for 1754 several tenants are quoted as possessing bays for which no rent had previously been paid. Now it might just be that these bays had become of significant value due to the kelp industry, but as 1746 is rather earlier than it is generally thought that kelp was first exploited in Harris, and because the tonnage of kelp was assessed for rent as a separate item in the 1754 rental, the most probable reason for their inclusion was land reclamation. Presumably each of these bays had its own area of machair or fertilised soil, and had become colonised.

Land reclamation may also have been responsible for the emergence of some completely new holdings which first appear in 1724 and subsequently proliferate. Their entry could have been a sign that they had just become economically viable and thus colonised - possible examples being Rainigdale and Ardvie. It is significant that they were attached to holdings themselves once not considered fruitful enough to be rented on their own, e.g. Finsbay, and could thus have been added to support and justify a higher rent. It may also be significant that they were not given a valuation. Others in the same category were Quidinish and Knockascan, Miavaig and Bay of Tarbert. Care is needed in the absence of further evidence, but it could be that these holdings, all on the east coast, were the "few green patches to be seen amongst the continued bare rock"¹³ which by means of land reclamation had been adapted from shealing sites to permanent settlements. There is a good chance that Finsbay was originally a shealing, since the holdings to which it was attached were on the west coast rather than in the village of Rowdil only three miles to the south.

Changes in estate administration could have been a reason for the mention of settlements not noted previously. For instance, part of a Harris rental for 1746 named for the first time the holdings of Geocrab on the east coast, and Niesbost, Airdhasaig and Bunavineattora on the west coast, and these places were said to have been once liferented by Sir Norman MacLeod. Niesbost and Geocrab were together valued at a substantial 5d, and if Geocrab, like other settlements on the east coast, possessed a low valuation, Niesbost would have been an important holding.

Fragmentation of units has already been observed in the cases of Finsbay and Paravig. From 1724 three other examples occurred. In 1724 Hushinish and Scarp, formerly held as a single 5d tenancy, was divided into holdings of 3d and 2d; in 1746 Clashmeal was cited as a penny-land and Pablie reduced by the same amount (though this may probably have been only coincidental), and in 1754 the change house at Rowdil and its clittick of land were assessed differently from the village.

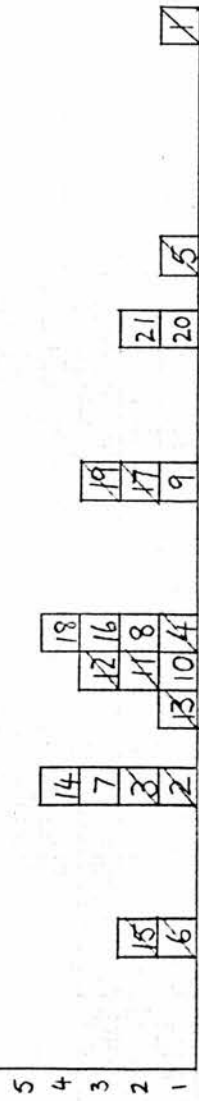
The processes of amalgamation of holdings, land reclamation, emergence of new holdings and emphasis on subsidiary settlements, suggest centralisation of estate management and increasing economic efficiency in a growing realisation of the estate's potential resources. Yet MacDonald in 1811¹⁴ wrote "Lands are subdivided not only as in Uist into pennies, halfpennies and farthings (the last of which ought not on any account to be allowed, being too small a farm for the maintenance of a family), but also further into what are called clitigs, cianags, etc., or half-farthings, and the half of half-farthings. No smaller sub-divisions of lands than half-penny lands ought to be permitted". During the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries, numerous families were for years direct tenants of farthinglands and clitticks, and some in

Rowdil of kinechs - which according to the rentals were a quarter, not half of clittick and so on. A les or empty clittick was also considered important enough to be registered in the rentals (Rowdil, 1717, 1718). The conclusion is therefore reached that whereas during the early part of the period fragments of pennylands defined centuries before were still relevant, by the end of the eighteenth century they were no longer so.

Single and Joint Farms in Harris

No. of farms - total 21

1680



9 single farms = 29.75

average size = 3.3056

12 joint farms = 37.5

average size = 3.125

Size of farms
in pennylands total 67.25
average 3.2024

1

Single farms } number =

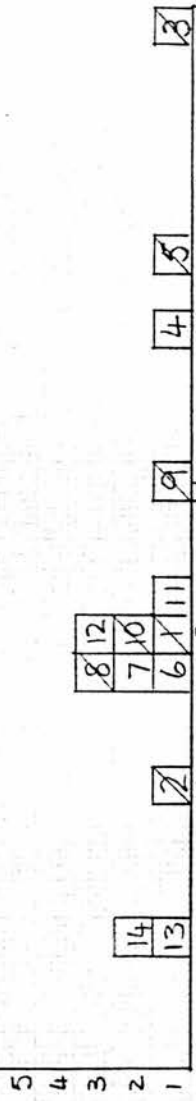
2 Joint farms } position in rental

Rowdill and Finsbay
omitted throughout

S Scarsta omitted

No. of farms - total 14

1703



7 single farms = 18.75

average size = 2.6786

7 joint farms = 27.25

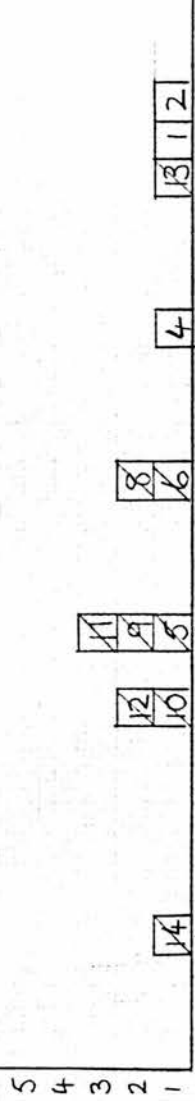
average size = 3.8928

Size of farms
in pennylands total 46
average 3.2857

Benniray's wadset
lands omitted

No. of farms - total 14

1754



6 single farms = 39.75

average size = 6.625

8 joint farms = 25

average size = 3.125

Size of farms
in pennylands total 64.75
average 4.625

New holdings omitted

Individual Holdings in Harris														
<div> <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Joint holding by indivisible portions <input type="checkbox"/> Position of farm in rental </div>														
<div> <div>No of tenants total 59</div> <div>1680</div> <div> <div> <div> <div>18</div> <div>17</div> <div>16</div> <div>15</div> </div> <div> <div>13</div> <div>12</div> <div>11</div> <div>10</div> </div> <div> <div>9</div> <div>8</div> <div>7</div> <div>6</div> </div> <div> <div>5</div> <div>4</div> <div>3</div> <div>2</div> </div> <div> <div>1</div> <div>0</div> </div> </div> <div> <div> <div>14</div> <div>13</div> <div>12</div> <div>11</div> </div> <div> <div>10</div> <div>9</div> <div>8</div> <div>7</div> </div> <div> <div>6</div> <div>5</div> <div>4</div> <div>3</div> </div> <div> <div>2</div> <div>1</div> <div>0</div> </div> </div> <div> <div> <div>17</div> <div>16</div> <div>15</div> <div>14</div> </div> <div> <div>13</div> <div>12</div> <div>11</div> <div>10</div> </div> <div> <div>9</div> <div>8</div> <div>7</div> <div>6</div> </div> <div> <div>5</div> <div>4</div> <div>3</div> <div>2</div> </div> <div> <div>1</div> <div>0</div> </div> </div> <div> <div> <div>16</div> 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THE LANDHOLDING HIERARCHY.

Indications of how the land was divided amongst the tenantry appear in the foregoing two tables. The three dates were chosen as representing the earliest and final rental and the nearest detailed one to the middle of the period, even though it excluded the wadset lands. The tables showing single and joint farms and holdings involved little besides addition of the separate types of holdings and averaging, but results are nevertheless surprising. Single farms reappear as single holdings in the second table, but are put into perspective by a comparison with individual tenancies within joint-holdings.

Sub-divisions of pennylands in the latter table caused something of a problem. The exclusion of Rowdil enabled the smallest amount to become a clittick, i.e. $\frac{1}{16}$ or .0625 of a pennyland, but even so the lengthwise axis in 1754 had to be shortened by half above 5d. Scalpay in 1680 was divided amongst two tenants in the proportion $\frac{2}{3} : \frac{1}{3}$, but as its exact measurements were not known, it was shown as a pennyland. Finsbay was also omitted throughout as a 'special case', South Scarsta left out in 1680 because it was "in the laird's hands", and new holdings in 1754 because there was no evidence as to when they were first tenanted. There is a discrepancy of 1d between the total number of pennylands in 1754 and that given in the valuation table; this is because, though probable, it is not absolutely certain that Clashmeal and Island Soay were part of Pablie's 4d. In 1746 Pablie was reduced to 3d and Clashmeal cited as 1d, but in 1754 several holdings were reduced.

From the histogram it can immediately be seen that the total number of farms diminished by a third. This was mainly due to amalgamation,

the most noticeable being that of Seilebost, Luskintyre, Hushinish and Scarp which amounted to 10d and the result was an increase of almost $1\frac{1}{2}$ d in the average size of all farms. Developments within the two types of farms, however, differed radically. Single farms decreased in number from nine in 1680 to seven in 1703, and six in 1754. In 1703 large single tenancies formed part of the wadset so that the remaining seven single farms averaged more than $\frac{1}{2}$ d less than in 1680. By 1754, however, the mean size of single farms had doubled to 6.625d, which was in marked contrast to that of joint farms which remained the same in 1754 as in 1680 at 3.125d. Their numbers had declined, too, from 12 in 1680 to eight in 1754, though in 1703 the absence of several joint farms of 2d - 4d in the wadset had increased the average of the other seven farms by $\frac{2}{3}$ d.

It can thus be surmised that single farms predominated in a move towards fewer and bigger holdings. Additional evidence that this development was in evidence at least from the beginning of the period is provided by the 1685 rental, in which the number of single farms equalled those held jointly (11 each). Despite the single farm of Middle Borrow being half let, single farms averaged 3.2386d as against 2.7556d. The proportion of land held by each type of farm is also indicative of the trend. In 1680 there were more joint farms amounting to a larger valuation; in 1703 when their numbers corresponded joint farms were bigger and occupied land worth half as much again. By 1754, however, single farms, though fewer, accounted for a major share of the land valuation and their average size was more than twice as big as joint farms.

The implications of this trend for the tenant hierarchy were considerable. In 1680 single and joint farms were fairly evenly distributed

as regards valuation with the majority of farms towards the lower end of the landholding scale. Joint farms occupied the highest and lowest extremes of 7d and 1d, and there was a block of eight out of the 21 farms between 2½d and 3d, again divided equally between the two types of farm. The emphasis on graduation of landholding by 1703 had moved to the middle, with seven out of 14 farms holding approximately 3d and the incidence at either end of the scale now halved. A joint farm still held the upper limit of 7d, but the lower, of 1d, was occupied by two single ones. Nevertheless, joint and single farms were still intermixed.

By 1754 emphasis on land tenure had moved right up the scale: five farms out of 14 were still valued between 2½d - 3d, but there was only one smaller farm as against eight larger. The top four were all single, and none were smaller than 5d, whereas the lowest eight were all held jointly and the largest joint farm only 6d. The two types of landholding had thus become distinct. Distribution of land now favoured the single farm and joint farms had declined in number, size and relative stature.

In the table which shows changes amongst individual tenants' holdings, the most significant development over the period appears to be the reduction in numbers of direct tenants - an overall decrease from 1680 of 13.5% by 1703 and 40.6% by 1754. Joint tenants declined by 12% and 42%, and single by 22.2% and 33.3%. Joint tenants had thus lost relatively more of their number.

In a comparison of the varying fortunes of single and joint tenants, the following table may be of use.

<u>1680</u>	9 single tenants	50 joint tenants
	7 held $2\frac{3}{4}d - 5d$	2 held $3\frac{1}{2}d - 4\frac{1}{2}d$
	2 " 2d	4 " 2d
		9 " $1d - 1\frac{1}{2}d$
		5 " $\frac{1}{2}d - \frac{3}{4}d$
		16 " $\frac{1}{4}d - 3/8d$
		14 " $1/8d - 3/16d$

<u>1703</u>	7 single tenants	44 joint tenants
	5 held $2\frac{3}{4}d - 5d$	2 held $3d - 3\frac{1}{2}d$
		1 " 2d
	2 " 1d	9 " $1d - 1\frac{1}{2}d$
		6 " $\frac{1}{2}d - \frac{3}{4}d$
		6 " $\frac{1}{4}d - 3/8d$
		20 " $1/16d - 3/16d$

<u>1754</u>	6 single tenants	29 joint tenants
	6 held 4d - 10d	
		1 held 2d
		13 " $1d - 1\frac{1}{2}d$
		15 " $\frac{1}{2}d - 5/8d$

Immediately noticeable is the fact that, throughout the period, joint tenants occupied the overwhelming majority of holdings up to 2d, and single tenants those of $2\frac{3}{4}d$ and above. The recurrent gap in the middle of the scale contrasts interestingly with the cluster of farms valued

between 2½d and 3d, suggesting that in this category there occurred a move from single to joint farms (cf. 1754 tenant lists).

Between 1680 and 1703 landholding patterns remained more or less the same, taking the wadset into account, though a move towards smaller holdings is shown; in both types of tenancy the smallest amount held decreased by a half, and in 1703 there was only one holding of 3½d and above compared to four in 1680. By 1754, however, a complete reversal of the latter trend had taken place, with the smallest single holding rated at 4d, and that of joint tenants ½d; the previous highest valuation of 5d had been doubled, and in 1754 ranked only 5th. By comparison, the highest joint holding was less than half that of 1680, so that there was a significant gap of 2d between the highest joint and lowest single holding.

These developments held several implications for the tenant hierarchy. First of all, though by 1754 joint tenants had achieved a slight increase of 1/10d in the average amount of land held, they had done so at the expense of a considerable decrease in numbers and had declined as a class. Secondly, throughout the period, the growing distinction between single and other tenants would not seem to exist between these tenants and sub-tenants. Though the latter do not appear in rentals, one would expect there to be a hierarchy according to the amount of land held amongst the sub-tenantry on large farms, and the small amounts of land held by joint tenants could well be similar to such sub-holdings. Furthermore, the disappearance from the rentals of more than a third of the joint-tenantry by 1754 speaks for itself.

The theory of a static society, or of a lack of mobility amongst different classes of tenantry (p. 39) would thus not seem to be

substantiated by developments in landholding. In 1754 almost half the total valuation was occupied by amalgamated holdings, giving the opportunity for some tenants to become extremely powerful in landholding terms, e.g. John Campbell of Strond, Alexander MacLeod and Kenneth MacAulay.

Yet amalgamations meant fewer holdings, and their effect can be illustrated by changes in landholding within the Morison family who held land on the west coast, Taransay, and Pabbay. In 1680 they occupied a minimum of 4d and in 1684/5 of 7d, (Morrison's who were capable of identification solely by patronymics excluded). At the end of the seventeenth century the west coast Morisons held between 1d and 2½d each, but in common with most other tenants found life difficult. Kenneth Morison in 1698 held 2½d but was unable to pay his kitchen rent because he did not have a milk cow, and the smiths, having changed holdings three times, were in 1701 given a reduction in rent "because of their flitting and poverty". Still, as a family they had prospered by 1724 in that their numbers had increased from some two in the 1680's, to six, and the amount of land held was now 18½d. By 1754, though there were eight tenants, the holdings had fallen to 8d with individual amounts of between ½d and 1½d compared to 2d - 4d in 1724.

Most significantly, in 1724 the family was one of single tenants; in 1754 one of joint-tenants. 1680-1703 rentals show only one example of a joint tenant acquiring single tenant status - Mr. John Campbell the Minister who was sett Ensay in lieu of his tythes in 1696, and only two of the opposite happening - in Meikle Borrow and Luskintyre in the 1680's. It is possible, therefore, that these years were ones of comparative stability amongst the tenantry. Yet rentals do not show those who became sub-tenants and it is unlikely that retirement or

death would account for a decrease of 40% in numbers of tenants between 1680 and 1754. Amalgamations and numerous examples of changes in type of tenancy, with the inclination for joint holdings to become single ones, would together indicate that traditional methods of land tenure were increasingly outweighed by economic considerations which adversely affected most tenants' landholding, and per se social, status over the period.

PATRONYMICS.

The lists on pp.348ff. show all tenants named in Harris rentals between 1680 and 1754. Their names were extracted from the rentals in the order in which they appeared, and are exactly as written. In spite of a double check to discover all possible inclusions, in one or two cases there are likely to be confusions of identities since factors often abbreviated tenants' patronymics. This suggests that they had enough personal knowledge to differentiate between tenants with similar names, especially confusing in Little Borrow and Rowdil. Names of women tenants were included for the purposes of comparison, but were also shown in a separate section (p.360). The '1724 Rent' column does not show the names of all tenants in a particular holding, but only those, designated as being 'therein', who deponed as to its rents.

Though at first sight the lists may appear complicated due to the absence of surnames and limited range of forenames, from them it is possible to begin to explore tenantry patterns, tenant stability and, more tentatively, the extent to which newcomers infiltrated society, though for a full description one would need demographic records of a kind which have not survived. However, given that Harris and its islands in 1680 was a closely-knit society, one might expect tenant lists to show overlapping kinship groups, few kinship ties with tenants of other landlords and few incomers. This, broadly speaking, is what emerges though with several qualifications.

Firstly, traffic between the mainland, Skye and the Hebrides appears to have been continuous¹⁵. If a Harris tenant married a non-Macleod, her name and origin would not appear in the rentals unless she were widowed, and might then be cited only as, e.g. "John Macleod's relict".

There is thus no way of telling how many female incomers there were in Harris. Secondly, tenants who were established elsewhere were less likely to migrate than small tenants, sub-tenants and cottars who had relatively little to lose. If the latter settled in Harris as sub-tenants they would go unrecorded, and if they became tenants and wished to assume the landlord's surname they could only be differentiated if they were given an agname indicating their origin, or perhaps had a distinctly unusual forename. The MacLeods appear to have allowed both incomers and people already on the islands when they colonised it to keep their surnames - a possible indication that the conditions which necessitated such a practice did not apply, and that the MacLeod landlord-tenant group could accommodate such people without absorbing them. It might simply mean that the landlord did not mind whether his tenants were MacLeods or not, as long as they paid their rent. In the Gordon muniments one can correlate petitions for renewal of tenancies with new tenancy lists to see to what extent Gordon tenants were replaced by incomers, but no such documents exist for the MacLeods.¹⁶ When an incomer becomes a tenant one has thus no way of knowing whether a MacLeod was deliberately displaced or how much competition there was for the tenancy.

A further problem is that of fluidity of nomenclature. 'Neil mciver' could equally well have been a patronymic, or forename plus surname; 'Neil mcitire' may have described the son of the Carpenter, or been himself the latest in a long line of carpenters.

When these factors are taken into consideration, the tentative character of the following list of available information on MacLeod

tenants is perhaps understandable. Every surname other than MacLeod has been extracted from the lists, and patronymics which may have been regarded as surnames have also been included, distinguished by appearing in the lower case.

Surnames

Campbell alias MacKenzie

- Could already have been in the islands when the MacKenzies acquired Lewis in 1610, and put themselves under their protection. Hereditary foresters of Harris.

Cuke

- Dingwall - Originally from the town of the same name. Many lawyers and surgeons. "Wrought work" for MacLeod.

- Gordone - Ferryman.

- Lainge Schoolmaster of Harris.

- MacAulay - Minister of Harris - relative of Thomas Babington MacAulay. Later alias Campbell.

- MacCaskill - Numerous in Skye and North/South Uist.

- MacCumra - Gaelicisation of surname Montgomery.

- Macquein/suine - MacShuibhne = MacSween. Common in Skye.

Monro

- Morison - Hereditary poets and armourers to the MacLeods. Originally from Ireland.

- Ross - Ground Officer of Harris.

Possible Surnames

- Baine - Ground Officer of Harris.

- Brouster - A groudair/grudair (brewer).

- Hushton - Uisdean (Hugh).

MacCuish	- Mac Chumhais
mc conill	- Mc Donald
mc coill	- " or mac Dhugail (Dougal)
mc eachine	- Mac Eachainn = son of Hector
mc finlay	- The Harris Factor
mc(g)illichrist	- Son of the priest
mc(g)illespick	
mc(g)illipatrick	- Son of the servant of patrick
mc(g)illivreid	
mc illifeadir	
mc illisse	- Mac Gill-iosa (Gillies)
mc innas	- Son of angus
mc itire	- Mac an t-saoir (son of the carpenter/mason) = MacIntyre. Need not have been of Argyllshire origin - probably a MacLeod.
mc iver	- Mac Iodhair (Ivor) - a common forename in Lewis.
mc kenzie	- Mac choinnich = kenneth
mc laughlane	- A brewer in Roudil
mak phaick	- Descendent of Clan vic Phaick ¹⁷
mc phaill	
mc p(h)ersone	- Son of the parson. Probably not from Badenoch but of MacLeod origin.
mc Sorle	- Mac Shomhairle = son of Somerled.
na Ksaird	- Nighean a'cheaird = daughter of the smith/tinker.

The tentative nature of the list is immediately apparent, especially amongst the possible surnames. These could well have been representative of smaller kindred groups within the MacLeod-tenant nexus who outside their own districts would regard themselves as MacLeods. Surnames are also confused in that it depended on the local knowledge of the clerk as

to how a particular tenant's name was written. For instance, mc coill and mc conill were apparently interchangeable forms of "the son of donald", but the clerk could have written mc couill or mc coill as the genitive form of mc dhughail or MacDougal, the letters 'n' and 'u' being virtually indistinguishable.

The list of surnames is a relatively small part of the tenantry, and of those that are known most were connected with MacLeod in some way. The impression is therefore given that Harris was tenanted for the most part by MacLeods, and that of the tenants with surnames other than MacLeod the majority seem to have been established for several generations.

This impression changes little during the period. In 1724 surnames other than MacLeod included Campbell, Morison, MacDonald, Ross, MacLennon and MacAulay, and in 1754 these plus McKenzie and Baine. Of this list Campbell, Morison and McKenzie had ancient connections with the MacLeods; MacDonald and MacLennon were of local origin, MacAulay was a minister with the alias of Campbell, and Baine and Ross both ground officers. The overall picture is thus still one of a close relationship between the MacLeod landlord and his tenants; if not a MacLeod, the tenant was likely to be associated with him either socially or through a position which he held on the estate.

AGNAMES.

Most surnames in the rentals occurred in Rowdil, and fewest on the island of Pabbay. In Ensay there were various surnames, but few were listed on more than one rental. On Taransay, and the west coast, Campbell and Morison tenants predominate so there is little evidence of other kinship groups. Where few surnames existed, these kinship groups could only be differentiated by patronymics and agname, and a survey of the latter follows.

The popular method of naming the eldest son after the grand-father seems generally to have been the general custom, i.e. neill mc coill vic neill, and forenames were therefore limited in range. Most common were Ean, Ewine, Tormod (norman), Neil, Donald, Malcolm, Angus, Rorie and Kenneth. Confusion between families seems to have been avoided by the addition of a nick-name to the paterfamilias, or a well-known ancestor. For instance, on the island of Pabbay there were two large families of mc illehallums, distinguished by being called either mc illehallum oig (young), or mc illehallum glase (grey haired).

Nick-names fell into two categories - physical characteristics and occupations. Though they were much fewer than in Skye, they were still fairly extensive. Of physical descriptions the commonest, perhaps predictably, was 'oige' which occurred in seven families. This was followed by duiffe/dow = black haired or dark in six, vaine = fair in four, voire = big in three, glase = grey, bhui = yellow or sandy, and reivech = grizzled or freckled in one family each.* Sometimes the son was given a nick-name different from that of his father or grandfather, e.g. ean dow mc ean vic urchie bhui. Occupational nick-names were more difficult to assign to families, as a smith for example might serve

* N.B. Many of the agnames in the rentals are in the genitive rather than nominative case.

two villages and have land in both. However, na Keaird (smith or tinker) occurred in three villages, Brouster (brewer) in three, mc person in two, mak itire (carpenter) in one and the weaver in one.

The highest incidence of agnames, i.e. 11 examples, occurred in the village of Rowdil which might have been expected considering it was the major settlement on the island. Pabbay had eight examples and Ensay seven, again understandably in view of the intermarriages that must have taken place in the island communities. As agnames seem to occur more frequently amongst the smaller tenants, it is a pity that there is no evidence available for them on Taransay and the west coast.

Agnames only appeared on rentals between 1680 and 1703. After that date they were replaced by a conventional forename and surname. However, during the above period it is possible to see from the tenant lists that certain families predominated, in that in most villages one or two families were tenants of a number of holdings or of a fair amount of land, or that a few families held land in several parts of Harris. A list of such families is given below.

Predominant Families.

Pabbay	- Neil mc coill vic ewin
	- Malcom glase
	- gillichalum oige
Ensay	- mc coill vaine
	- mc ean vic urchie vic Caskill
South Copiphell	- Ean mc allister awinich
Scarstas	- The smith
	- mc ean vic innas alias Campbell
& Meikle Borrow	- McAulay

Middle Borrow	- mc illichallum oige
	- Morisone
Little Borrow	- mc illichalum vic do: vick swan
	- mc neil vic do: vick swan
Horgisbost	- Morison
Seilebost	- Campbell (mc ean vic innish)
Taransay	- Morisone
	- Campbell
Scalpay	- Campbell
Strond	- McKenzie/Campbell
Rowdil	- mc coill reivech

It can immediately be seen that certain families were prevalent in widespread areas of Harris. The list has a wider implication, however, in that the recurrence of these families on the tenantry lists invites comparison with that of other tenants, raising the important question of tenant stability.

Tenant Stability in Harris.

The lists of tenants' names show stability of tenancy as denoted by inclusion in a rental or list of arrears. While at best they can merely be indicative of the overall picture due to a lack of continuous documentation, especially after 1703, they do suggest several interesting hypotheses.

First of all, length of tenancy during the seventeenth century does not seem to have been associated with the amount of land held. On Pabbay and Ensay some long-lasting tenants held less than a farthingland and in Rowdil one held only a clittick (though Rowdil's valuation was not in keeping with the rest of Harris). On the other hand, several farms on the West Coast were traditionally held by one or two families so that one tenant could, for many years, hold several pennylands, e.g. in Seilebost, Taransay, and South Copiphell.

Secondly, inability to pay rent (i.e. frequent inclusion in a list of arrears) does not appear to have had much effect on duration of tenancy either. Indeed, though the tack of Strond expressly gave the MacLeod landlord the opportunity to evict his tenant after a year's arrears, crops at the turn of the seventeenth/eighteenth century were so poor that a major share of the Harris income had to be written off for several years in succession. Poverty seems to have been endemic at this time and judging from the lists large and small tenants found it equally - and increasingly - difficult to pay their rents. 31 tenants were in arrears in 1679, 48 in 1683, 59 in 1684, and 70 in 1685, yet Malcom oige's relict in Pabbay was the only tenant to disappear by 1686 after having appeared in previous lists of rents.

An extreme example of the way in which the climate could affect land tenure occurred in Pabbay in 1696 when much of Middletown and its machairland disappeared beneath sand. In 1688 five people had paid silver rent there; by 1698 the name of only one of them was included under Northtown. Apart from this, it is difficult to assign reasons to changes in tenantry. Tacks would undoubtedly have affected tenure, but apart from the Strond tack above-mentioned and the reference to one for Scalpay in 1700 no written tacks have survived, and the probability is that they deemed unnecessary for most tenants who were in any case dependent upon the landlord's good-will in remitting rents for security of tenure.

From the tables it is possible to trace family fortunes, especially in the islands. For instance, sometime in the early-mid seventeenth century there flourished Neil mc coill vic ewin. His widow assumed his holding in Kirktown on his death, appearing only once in 1679. However, his sons Murdo, Angus, Malcolm, Donald, Ewine, Rorie, Ean and Archibald tenanted holdings in Lingay and Northtown as well as Kirktown, and towards the end of the century their own sons began to appear as tenants, e.g. Neill mc ean in Kirktown and Northtown, Rorie mc Vurachie (Rorie) in Kirktown, and Rorie mc innish (Angus) in Middletown and Northtown.

A second method of acquiring a tenancy was through marriage. Women tenants in Harris were not all widows; several are named as the daughter of another tenant. The year that they were no longer listed sometimes co-incided with the entry to the same holding of another tenant, (e.g. Pabbay, Ensay, Rowdil), but unfortunately there is no proof of marriage.

Sometimes one or a few tenants may have been unwilling to accept responsibility for a holding and were joined by other tenants, as happened in Northtown where in 1680 Malcom oig (who must have been quite old judging by the fact that he had three grown up sons and died between 1680-3) and his son Ean were tenants, and where by 1683 his widow and another son were joined by five other tenants, Ean possibly moving to Ensay. Other examples occurred in Horgisbest in 1683 when two tenants were joined by a third, in 1685-6 in Little Borrow where three tenants were joined by a further four, and in Luskintyre in 1683 where the original tenant was a widow.

Though it is difficult to ascribe reasons to changes, it is possible to see the process of change despite severe gaps in evidence. The hiatus between 1688 and 1698 is particularly frustrating since most changes appear to have taken place from 1685 onwards when few holdings in Harris remained unaffected. The Strond tack expired in 1685 and new tenants entered only in 1698; in Drimfuint and South Copiphell no tenants were named in 1688 and by 1698 South Copiphell had changed from a single tenancy to a joint one, and Drimfuint vice-versa. Between 1687 and 1689 there was a complete change of tenancy in Middle Borrow and almost complete in Little Borrow. In North Scarsta completely different tenants appeared in 1698. Another pronounced variation occurred in Ensay and the Eye in 1701-2, when a single tenant (the Minister, Master John Campbell, who had been given a tack in lieu of his tythes in 1696) was replaced by 15 joint tenants, to whom were added eight more in 1703.

The most outstanding changes, however, were observed in Roudil, where the rentals of the years 1686-1688 and 1698 seemed to divide the tenantry into two blocks. Compared to the small number of new tenants

in the 1680's - three in 1683, three in 1684 and two in 1685, there was a flood of 13 in 1698, eight in 1701, five in 1702 and five in 1703. One reason might be that poverty drove people to the richest soil on the island as a replacement for tenants who had retired or died towards the end of the century, perhaps influenced by the famines which affected all parts of Scotland between 1696 and 1698. A total of 15 tenants disappeared between 1688 and 1698.

Such extreme variations contrast greatly with changes in other years, which appear to be more gradual. As one tenant was no longer recorded another took his place in the list, or the number of tenants fluctuated for a few years. The overall impression is given of a very stable society during the years 1680 - 1703, despite several upheavals and an increasingly hostile agricultural environment.

Rentals from this period cannot be compared with those of 1724 and 1754 as regards stability of tenantry as the latter do not include small tenants. However, one or two points attract attention. The disappearance of patronymics from the rentals would not seem to be echoed in society; in 1754 the clerk was forced to write "another donald macleod" to distinguish him from the two Donald MacLeods who were joint-tenants of Kirktown with him - one of whom was described as a shipmaster. It seems fairly clear that patronymics would still be highly necessary. But because of this it is almost impossible to state with any certainty whether, e.g. a Neill Morison who lived in Middle Borrow in 1754 was a close relative of the Kenneth Morison who lived in the village in 1703.

Since there are no lists of rests available for these years, one cannot judge whether tenants were allowed to stay in their holdings after a

year's arrears. Stability of tenure amongst the larger land-holders is indicated, however, (the above caveat observed), in that two tenants in 1724 were shown also in 1754 - Donald Campbell in Scalpay and John Campbell of Strond, and several people with the same surname occupied a holding in both years, e.g. MacAulays in Meikle Borrow, Morisons in Horgisbost and Pablie, and MacLeods of Berneray the west coast wadset lands. Stability of tenantry is also confirmed by the limited range of surnames; most tenants were either MacLeods, Campbells or Morisons and the overall impression is given that most of these families were well established in their holdings.

WOMEN TENANTS.

On pp.360-1 are listed women tenants who appeared in rentals and lists of rests between 1680 and 1754. Between 1680 and 1703 there were in all 28 tenants of whom 12 lived in the village of Rowdil. They, and the lands they occupied, were very much in the minority; they were most numerous in 1703 when they accounted for a fifth of the tenantry, and the greatest amount of land held by them was $9\frac{5}{16}$ d out of a total $70\frac{3}{4}$ d in 1685. Nevertheless, the proportion was high compared with other parts of the Macleod estate.

Amounts of land held varied tremendously, the largest (4d) being worth 256 times the smallest (a knoch). The five women who held 4d, 3d, $2\frac{3}{4}$ d, $1\frac{3}{8}$ d and 1d were clearly on a different social level from the four who possessed land worth between $\frac{1}{4}$ d and $\frac{1}{2}$ d, and even more so from the 14 who lived on less than a farthingland. Even when Rowdil's fertile soil is taken into consideration it is doubtful whether a clittick or knoch would have been sufficient to support sub-tenants. In 1703 Kathrine nien vic gillepatrick was given a reduction in the rent of her knoch "being a poor widow".

The way in which women were registered by the Chamberlain or Factor may have been of significance. The rentals do not show an agname for "the wife of", and in most cases a woman was referred to by her patronymic, i.e. daughter of x the son of y. Quite often, however, she might be described as a widow, with or without the patronymic - if without, the former husband's name was used, e.g. 'Malcom oig's relict'. The five women tenants with the most land were all specifically referred to as widows, as well as being given a patronymic. Yet though one or two were members of tenant families, their erstwhile husbands were

not tenants of the same holding in which they appeared. Four of the five, too, were single tenants with sons in other holdings which could indicate that the husbands' lands had passed to the sons leaving the widows occupying land in their own right.

14 of the other 22 tenants were named solely by their patronymic, two had the additional description of widow/relict, three were identified only as the relict of a male tenant and three vicariously, i.e. as a tenant's mother or mother-in-law. Since women designated by patronymics held for the most part quite small areas of land, a case could be made that they, too, held land directly by virtue of their ancestry. Two factors argue against it, however. The first is that during the period when poverty was rife the numbers of new women tenants increased; in 1701 there were four, in 1702 five and in 1703 four also. Secondly, no women tenants appeared in the 1724 rental and only one in 1754, who held an eighth part ($\frac{1}{8}$ d) of a joint-holding. It would thus seem that, throughout the period, there was no prejudice against women tenants as such but they only really came into their own if for some reason there was a shortage of men.

NOTES TO THE HARRIS TENANTRY 1680 - 1754.

1. Old Statistical Account, Vol.10, pp.342 ff.
2. A. Morrison, Transactions of the Gaelic Society of Inverness, Vol.XLV, p.96.
3. J.B. Caird, The Isle of Harris (Scottish Geographical Magazine) Vol.67, p.88.
4. J. Walker, printed in Transactions of the Gaelic Society of Inverness, Vol. XXIV, p.137.
5. Old Statistical Account, *ibid*.
6. Quoted in Grant, The MacLeods, p.178.
7. Rentals in MacDonald, and Clanranald Papers (GD. 201,221).
8. Quoted in W.F. Skene's Celtic Scotland, Vol.III, p.430.
9. Old Statistical Account, *ibid*.
10. Martin Martin, A description of the Western Islands of Scotland, 1716 Edition, p.31.
11. *Ibid*, p.33.
12. MacLeod Papers, Box 21Aa, Vol.I, pp.82-84.
13. Old Statistical Account, *ibid*.
14. J. MacDonald, View of the agriculture of the Hebrides, p.814.
15. I.F. Grant, Highland Folk Ways, pp. 78-79.
16. Gordon Muniments, GD.44/41/28
17. According to the Bannatyne M.S.S. this tenant was a descendant of a famous family which was once powerful enough to oust the MacRimmons from Berneray, Pabbay and Ensay and other places in Harris, but which degenerated into a family of 'peasants' (cf Genealogy of the MacLeods, Vol.III, p.248).

CHAPTER 5 - HARRIS MONEY RENTS.

RENTS BEFORE 1680.

In 1675 a petition of Iain Breac MacLeod pleaded that he be allowed to present a case at court in the near future, as he was then in town "and it is weill known that I leive at a great distance in the outmost Highlands beyond ye many seas"¹. His emphasis on the distance between 'the authorities' and the MacLeod estates, and the difficulties of communication, illustrates why for information on rents before the 1680's we are almost entirely dependent on MacLeod muniments rather than governmental records. The latter type of evidence was apt to be kept more assiduously and stored in safer conditions so that no MacLeod rentals have survived from earlier than 1680, and there are few indications of how much rent was either due, or paid, by constituent parts of the estate. The knowledge that we do have is gained for the most part from transfers of land, life rents and above all from valuations. In the following section all three will be utilised, together with the few examples of concrete evidence available to explore rents on the MacLeod estate.

Since rentals were originally based on land valuations and were related to them for a considerable period afterwards, they, and land values, are of considerable assistance in determining likely rents - land valuations being an indication of the potential productivity of the land, and land values the actual amounts that the lands paid to the landlord in rent. The earliest evidence dates from 1498, in James IV's charter to Alexander MacLeod of land in Skye and Harris as follows: "terras que vulgariter nuncupantur Ardmannach in Herag de Lewes cum suis pertinentiis, cum omnibus insulis minutis ad dictum Ardmannach pertinentibus, ac sex unciatas terrarum de Dyurenes quatuor unciatas

terrarium de Mingnes quatuor unciatas terrarum de Bracadale una unciata terre de Lendell et duas unciatas terrarum de Trotterness"².

A definitive valuation for Harris is not explicit either in this or any other subsequent charter and in spite of categorical statements made by Canon MacLeod and others any valuation of the island can only be conjectural. Harris contained five unciates according to the Canon who based his calculations on values in 1596³.

The 1596 assessment "in the King's books for the purposes of taxation" showed how much the estate was worth and how much it had been worth "in time of peace", according to earlier values of indefinite date, as follows:

		'tempore pacis'
Harris and Skye	£ 213-6-8	£ 53-6-8
Trotterness	£ 21-6-8	£ 5-6-8
Glenelg	£ 128-0-0	£ 32-0-0

Dividing the 'tempore pacis' sums by the unciates shown in the 1498 charter one finds Trotternish valued at £ 2-13-4 per unciate and Glenelg at £ 2-13-4 per davoch. Canon MacLeod quoted Skene as saying that the davoch was the same as an unceland, and therefore, equating them, calculated that Harris and Skye were altogether 20 unciates, excluding Waternish. Bracadale, Lindale, Quirinish and Minginish together totalling 15 unciates, this makes Harris five unciates, or 100d. McKerral also suggests that the davoch was originally the arable area of the Celtic township, valued at an unciate, and quotes a document of 1505 in which James IV granted 'the davoch called in Scotch 'le terung' (unciate) of Pablisgerry, the davoch called le terung of Bailranald ... (both in North Uist)⁴.

Despite the equation of the davoch and unciate, the evidence for late sixteenth century land values was by no means explicit and it was therefore decided to compare the 1498 land valuations with those of the early eighteenth century rentals of Skye and Glenelg; if they correlated then it would be likely that Harris valuations corresponded in a similar way. Valuations of all townships named in rentals 1706-1754 were listed according to their separate districts; some were registered twice and have been shown as such⁵. Totals were as follows:

	<u>1498</u>	<u>1706</u>
Bracadale	80d	78-89d
Lindle	20d	18 $\frac{3}{4}$ d
Duirinish	120d	115 $\frac{3}{4}$ d-124 $\frac{3}{4}$ d
Minginish	80d	75 $\frac{1}{2}$ -83 $\frac{1}{2}$
Waternish (1611) ⁶	100d	83 $\frac{1}{2}$ -85 $\frac{1}{2}$
Glenelg	12 davochs (240d)	(1735-55) 100d
Harris	100d?	73 $\frac{1}{4}$ +25+(5) = 98 $\frac{1}{4}$ -103 $\frac{1}{4}$

From this it can be seen that Harris' valuation in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries suggests a valuation of five unciates in 1498. The establishment of this fact is quite important, since some of our knowledge of Harris' early rents is inferential, arising from comparisons with other districts in Skye. In 1498 Bracadale and Lindle, often classed together in one rental, Waternish and Harris were all classified as five unciates or 100d. Duirinish and Minginish, 120d and 80d respectively, totalled 10 unciates or 200d: the remarkable similarity of these valuations suggests considerable antiquity and also organisational powers.

The discrepancy between Glenelg's valuation in 1498 and 1735-55 is extraordinary. According to the New Statistical Account and a late eighteenth century map showing extent of cultivation and acreage, much of the area of Glenelg, Glenbeag and Loch Hourn, one of fertile soils and large farms, was under cultivation. Settlements were similar to those named in early eighteenth century rentals, so other reasons must account for an apparent difference of 140d. One pointer exists in a document of 1583 when certain lands in Glenelg were given in life rent. These lands are given a valuation and a comparison with one of 1735 shows that the value of the holdings in pennylands had dropped remarkably,⁷ e.g.

	<u>1583</u>	<u>1735</u>
Arnistill ($\frac{1}{2}$ Dallach)	10d) 7d
Achiglen ($\frac{1}{2}$ Dallach)	10d) including
) Blarninach
Clambuile	10d	5 $\frac{1}{2}$ d
		including
		Sandaig

The 1583 valuations, totalling 120d, amounted to '24 merklands of old extent'; a charter of 1340 granted Malcolm MacLeod "duas partes Tenementi de Glenelg, Videlicet Octo Davatas et quinque Denariatas Terre"⁸. The 120 pennylands or 24 merklands were therefore most probably half Glenelg, i.e. six davochs.

This dual system of valuation was widespread during the sixteenth century, causing some confusion since different valuations of the same piece of land do not always tally and other information re the correlation of land valuation and land values is noticeably lacking, completely so in the case of Harris. For this reason a brief attempt follows to explore the relationship between land measurement as such (see p.145) in terms of valuation and values to the landowner in the hope that trends observable elsewhere on the estate may have applied

to Harris, and sixteenth century comparisons were similar to those in later centuries. Canon MacLeod's findings have on the whole been treated with circumspection since his calculations, and results, do not always bear detailed investigation.

In the sixteenth century there appears to have been a dual system of assessing the relationship between pennylands and merklands, the first according to documents quoted by Andrew McKerral being based on the value of the land, i.e. "Hence we find that when uncelsands came to be assessed as merklands the result varied from locality to locality according to value of the land of the uncelsand"⁹. He cites two early sixteenth century documents for Kintail and Trotternish which assessed the davocho/unciate at a four merkland, and Glenelg in 1583 was also computed at four merklands per davocho. Canon MacLeod on the other hand uses the value of silver to obtain the valuation i.e. the merkland, according to him, was equal to the number of pennylands which at a certain valuation were worth 13/4. In Trotternish in 1596 the unciate had been worth 'tempore pacis' £ 2-13-4; divided by 20, a pennyland was worth 2/8d, and a merkland therefore equivalent to five pennylands. Trotternish was also in 1606 described as being "fourtie pennie land of auld extent" - $40 \times 2/8d = £ 5-6-8$ or two uncies¹⁰. The phrase 'of old extent' seems to have been necessary in view of the fact that the basis of valuation subsequently changed, and the unciate was no longer worth £ 2-13-4. In the 1596 retour, values of land for the purpose of taxation had increased fourfold, e.g. Skye and Harris £ 53-6-8 to £ 213-6-8.¹¹ There are altogether three unrelated documents which suggest that both in Skye and Lochaber a pennyland in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries was in some cases equal to a merkland of old extent, the first from Bracadale in 1585 when "all and hale" 20ds "extendis in ye hale to ye soume of twenty merkland of old extent" and

"twelf pennie land, being twelf merkland of auld extent", and the second example occurs in the Gordon rental for Locheaber in 1600¹². The third piece of evidence dates from 1613 when John Moydertach and Moire MacLeod, daughter of Rorie Mor, were infefted in certain lands in Arisaig - the detailed holdings total 22d, which extends "to twentie-twa merkland being ane pairt of his twentie pund in Arrasyle"¹³.

The absence of any indication of how much these lands were worth in rents makes it difficult to specify their true value; conversely, there are some examples of sixteenth century holdings and how much they were worth for example in life rent, but other vital information is lacking, e.g. as regards their valuations or period of infeftment. They are, however, of some help in outlining economic trends and there follows a survey of the available examples, together with possible conclusions affecting Harris.

The earliest evidence concerns Glenelg. In 1527 and 1532 Lord Lovat complained to James V that his "thrie part of ye landis of Glenelg" had been "maisterfully occupit by the MacLeods for more than 20 years bygone" and that the lands were "worth be zeir in maille farmes victual and chees ye sounes of furty poundis"¹⁴. The rents of Glenelg for some twenty years prior to 1527 would thus seem to have been worth £ 120. The next valuation took place in 1535, when the debt of £ 800 (i.e. 20 x £ 40) had grown to £ 4,080, apparently in anticipation of the following year's grant of non-entries of Glenelg since William MacLeod's death in 1485. However, the two-thirds of Glenelg given Lord Lovat was held to be worth only £ 1600 or 20 x £ 80¹⁵. Glenelg's value thus cannot have risen substantially between 1507-1535 or Lovat would have pressed for some amelioration in the rents. In this respect

a document of 1542 is interesting since it shows increases in rent for other areas of Skye. In that year James V granted Alexander MacLeod the lands of MacDonald of Sleat in accordance with his inter-necine policy for the Highlands: the lands were described as the 80 merklands of Trotternish extending to the sum of 360 merks annually, the £ 20 lands of Slait extending to 90 merks annually, and the £ 40 lands of North Uist extending to £ 80¹⁶. If the valuations were at all near the original figure Trotternish must have been very fertile indeed: 80 merklands x 5 = 400 pennylands, or 20 uncates - as much as Duirinish, Bracadale, Lindle, Kinginish and Waternish put together, which from the agricultural viewpoint does not seem feasible. However, the increases which Alexander had to pay the King, i.e. £ 6-3-4 for Trotternish, £ 20 for Slait and £ 40 for North Uist, were in inverse proportion to the stated valuation/value relationship which could indicate that either Trotternish was previously overvalued or the other lands undervalued. The increase in Trotternish is also of interest in that it does not seem to be based on valuation, i.e. £ 6-3-4 or 9m-3-4 has little in common with 80 merklands, while increases of Slait and North Uist are at least a fraction of the stated rent.

The next pieces of evidence are indirect inasmuch as they show sums paid to various people in lieu of claims to parts of the estate, but they do suggest how much the land was worth. In 1570 Marie MacLeod renounced her claim to the MacLeod estates in return for the 1,000 pounds "promisset in tocher with me to ye said Duncan" (her husband Duncan Campbell of Auchenbreck). For the renunciation Tormod MacLeod paid 600 merks or £ 400, and also infeft her in liferent in 1574 in the "five peny lands of Oikil Bracadell, fourtene peny landis of Herbest and in the two peny lands of Carroy with the pertinents"¹⁷. There is no evidence of the other £ 600 ever being paid, so the liferent

may have been given instead, though £ 600 for a liferent of 21d does not particularly agree with the next piece of evidence. Agnes Fraser, the wife of Alexander Bayne of Tulloch, was the widow of William MacLeod and as such was entitled "ane terce within ye yle of Sky and Glenelg"; in 1571 she renounced her "tytill and richtes of intromission" for the sum of 800 merks or £ 533-6-8 - as Canon MacLeod remarked "She may have wished to deal generously with her brother-in-law"¹⁸.

The final piece of sixteenth century evidence is a bond between William MacLeod and Janet McIntosh, daughter of Lachlan Macintosh of Dunachton. This refers to the marriage contract in which 'all and hale' William's twenty pennyland of Bracadale had been given to Janet and states that eight merkland 'of old extent' was to be given back to William when either he, his heirs or successors "realie consignis and puttis in deposit" the sum of 1000 merks "as for the first termes payment of ye soume of two thousand fyf hundryt merkis conforme to ye said matrimonial contract of ye date above wrettin (10.8.1585). And to be put and bestowit upon lands quharevyr the same may be maist commodiuslie had within ye bundes of ross or murrey to ye utilitie and proffit of me and ye said Wm mc cloid my futur spouse"¹⁹. The renunciation of eight merklands was to take place immediately the thousand pounds was handed over; the idea of using the money for land speculation is fascinating. Janet still retained "twelf pennie land being twelf merkland of old extent". From the contract it is difficult to say whether the renunciation was in return just for the thousand, or for the whole 2,500 merks, and one wonders how much Janet's dowry was. The whole transaction does, however, suggest that Bracadale was a valuable holding, and the retention of eight merklands (or 40d) well worth having even at a minimum price of £ 666-13-4.

Canon MacLeod was of the opinion that no material rise took place either in the value of the estate or in rents during the sixteenth century²⁰. The three sums of £ 600, £ 533-6-8 and £ 666-13-4 respectively would seem to substantiate this, as far as they are able and taking into account the different circumstances of their origin. However, the rental of 1542 and the 1596 retour shows that a movement of rents was, in fact, taking place; it is highly unlikely that rents were ever static, though they were likely to be more stable in 'times of peace', the earlier valuation cited in the retour, and before outside influences such as the Statutes of Iona were brought to bear. For this reason the following late sixteenth century description of the Western Isles is so invaluable²¹.

Rents of Harris sometime between 1577 and 1595 were apparently "3 bolls malt 3 bolls meill for ilk day in the year, 40 mairtes and 8 score wedderes, by customs pultrie, meill, with oist silver: Pabba 2 merkland pays yeirly 60 bolls victual ... On this land of Harris he (MacLeod of Harris) will raise 140 men able for the war; Pabbay pertaining to MacLeod of Harris 40 men"²². With such a vital piece of information an immediate attempt was made to compare it with Harris produce rents about a century later, i.e. in 1680, whereupon the following surprising results were obtained.

	<u>1577-1595</u>	<u>1680</u>
Meil	1095 bolls	58 ³ / ₈ bolls
Bear	1095 bolls	96 ³ / ₈ bolls
Victual (Pabbay)	60 bolls	71 bolls
St.Kilda	60 bolls	(27 ¹ / ₂ m, 43 ¹ / ₂ b)
	+ ane great matter yeirlie of scheip & foullis	16
Wedders	160	153 ¹ / ₂
Marts	40	9

Since the nature of the survey was such as to err on the optimistic side, there is, of course, no guarantee that the 1595 figures were correct regarding the difference in numbers of bolls of meal and bear, and must be seen in the light of this context. The proportion in 1595 of 60 : 2190 bolls does not, however, warrant Pabbay's description as 'Once the Granary of Harris', unlike that of 1680 when it was 60 : 154 $\frac{1}{2}$. The emphasis on victual rents indicates Harris' contribution to the necessarily self-sufficient estate economy, and is also interesting in that by 1680 meal and beare had been superseded as the staple rent by money payments which were not mentioned in 1595 apart from 'oist silver'. The transition was undoubtedly due to the increased importance to the Highland economy of the droving trade from the early seventeenth century onwards, and as tenants found it more profitable to raise cattle, land previously given over to tillage might have been converted to pasture. Some arable would still be needed for the victual rents, food for the tenants and fodder for the beasts, but on the other hand, too, MacLeod landlords could well have reduced the victual rents during the sixteenth century as they spent more time in Edinburgh and the South. Yet the rent of 40 marts is also interesting as in 1680 only nine of the largest holdings (which paid substantial amounts of other produce rents) paid marts, and by 1754 there were only three. From this one could argue that the social hierarchy was organised differently from 1680 in that such a considerable number could either have come from large farms paying two or three cows, or an increased number of smaller holdings capable of paying either one or a part of one each. There are remnants of this practice in the MacLeod rentals of the 1680's, e.g. $\frac{1}{2}$ a mart or $\frac{3}{4}$ of a wedder. If the cattle came from large farms, this indicates a considerable sub-tenantry and yet rentals a century later show very small tenants in several holdings. It is thus more probable that the land was divided amongst an increased number of holdings paying a mart directly to MacLeod, i.e. a more egalitarian society.

Compared to victual and beef rents, the stable number of wedders paid show that they were regarded as a basic rental commodity and were presumably reared in equal numbers, and according to later travellers meat was hardly ever eaten by ordinary tenants.

No certain comparisons can be made between numbers of male tenants owing to the lack of information about subtenantry. However, in the 1680's tenantry patterns on the islands of Pabbay and Ensay were similar, showing fairly small holdings. Approximately 20 male tenants were shown from each island so it would seem that, taking older tenants into account, Pabbay would no longer have provided fighting men in the proportion of 40 compared to the 140 from the rest of Harris.

Altogether, a comparison of men and victual rents of Pabbay and the rest of Harris shows that the island during the sixteenth century was probably of greater consequence (MacLeod had a castle there) within the MacLeod estates as a whole. While the victual rent actually increased 1595-1680, the limited extent of the island would naturally restrict numbers of cattle kept and from the late seventeenth century onwards there is increasing evidence of encroachment on the arable land by sand-drift, a process which may well have occurred during the seventeenth century. Yet the final enigma arises from the island's classification in 1595 as a two merkland; according to the valuation 'of old extent' this was equal to 10d. In the 1724 rental the island was 'once 16 pennylands' and in 1680 it was valued at 14 pennylands.

The Harris rental of 1595 suggests that the MacLeod estate organisation was primarily based on a policy of economic self-sufficiency, and the rent commodities were unlikely to have a market value elsewhere, which would affect the value of the estate; in this respect the 1595 rental

is interesting since it also cites valuations and rents for various districts of the estate as follows.

- Trotternish - 80 merkland - capable of raising 500 men to the war.
Each merkland paid yearly 2 bolls meal, 2 bolls malt, 4 marts, 16 wedders, 16 dozen poultry and "twa merks by the auld mailis and utheris dewteis accustomat".
- Sleat - 30 merkland - 700 men.
Being occupied for the most part by gentlemen it consequently paid only the old duties, i.e. as much victual, butter, cheese, wine, ale, and acquavitie as a gentleman might require for one night's stay, "albeit he were 600 men in companie", from each merkland.
- Waternish - 20 merkland - 200 men.
- Duirinish - 28 merkland - 240 men.
- Bracadale - 16 merkland - 140 men.
- Minginish - the third of "McCloyd Herreis' three cuntries in Skye" was omitted from the description.

If these valuations are compared with the valuations in pennylands it will be seen that in these cases the pennyland was by no means equal to a merkland; the basis must therefore have been different, and indeed Trotternish and Sleat (30 merks = £ 20 land) were given the same valuation as in 1542 and yet cited as 'of old extent'. The other Skye valuations are unique, Waternish in 1618 being cited as an £ 18-13-4 land. The Trotternish rental is especially interesting in view of the fact that as far back as 1542 the 80 merklands were rented at 360 merks i.e. four merks per merkland, and the rent is stated at two merks per merkland "by the auld mailis", i.e. in addition to them. It would thus seem that in this district, too, rents were still based on valuation.

The 1577-1595 description is invaluable in that it also enables a comparison of Harris rents to be made with an other Skye district, that of Trotternish. From the two rent lists it can be seen that the value of the land lay in quite different commodities. Trotternish paid only a seventh of Harris' victual rent, but four times the number of marts and eight times the number of wedders, and it was clearly more densely populated, raising 500 men to Harris' 180 including Pabbay. The comparison therefore suggests that Trotternish's was an essentially pastoral economy, while Harris, blessed in the description with being "fertile, commodious and profitable in all sort", was essentially arable.

The description is the final piece of evidence which supports the theory that rents rose little during the sixteenth century. However, with the land deal between Rory Mor MacLeod and Kenneth MacKenzie of Kintail in 1610 it seems that the estate was entering another era; it involved sums which were astronomical compared with previous sixteenth century transactions. Rory Mor held two unciates of Trotternish, Lord Kintail the five unciates of Waternish and the lands were exchanged for 9,000 merks payment by Rory²³. An equally astonishing fact was his ability to pay the whole 9,000 merks in one lump sum - nine days after he had paid 4,000 merks in part payment of settlement of Lord Lovat's claim to Glenelg²⁴. The episode raises several problems, chief of course being the massive increase in land values, and of how Rory Mor came to be in possession of resources of some £ 8,666-13-4 in one year.

Canon MacLeod based his monetary calculations relating to the deal on the 1596 retour which mentions Trotternish, and an equation of the value of Waternish with that of Bracadale since their valuations were similar. Yet in the eighteenth century the rent of Waternish was always

much lower than that of Bracadale - sometimes by as much as nearly 1,000 marks. Nevertheless, the figure of £ 6,000 represented the difference in value between the areas of land, and is of immense importance - if one only knew by what basis it was drawn up! A probably deceptively straight-forward method would have been the assessment of £ 2,000 per unciale, but of the previous statement re valuations. A more logical explanation would seem to lie in the value of the two districts' yearly rents multiplied by a number of years and, more speculatively, their economic potential.

Given this latter method, which would appear to be as reasonable as any, the question of rents become crucial. Rory Mor, from all the available evidence, does not appear to have borrowed the money for his negotiations, and it must therefore have originated from the estate - excluding Waternish but including two unciales of Trotternish (the immensely fertile land round Uig).

According to the Inverness-shire Cess Book, Rory Mor's income in 1608 was valued at £ 5,820, while Sleat and Trotternish together were valued at £ 7,795²⁵. If the original merkland valuations are taken from the 1577-1595 rental, MacLeod's lands included the 44 merklands of Duirinish and Bracadale, Minginish and Harris, while Trotternish and Sleat totalled 110 merklands. If the number of able-bodied men are any guide, MacLeod was able to call on 560 men plus those from Minginish, and in Sleat and Trotternish there were 1200 men available. The comparative values would therefore appear to be reasonably accurate, and yet the late sixteenth century life rents and description suggest a yearly income not even remotely capable of financing such land deals, or even of realising such a high monetary value. The inference is therefore possible that some time in the early seventeenth century one of two things must have

happened; either Rory Mor must have found some way of converting his produce rents into cash, or that money rents must have undergone a massive increase. If the latter hypothesis is taken, it follows that the estate must have been able to pay that increase, further suggesting that either tenants' circumstances had changed or that the estate was previously under-rented or under-developed.

In the self-sufficient economy of the islands rents appear to have been paid in kind rather than in cash throughout the sixteenth century, indicating that conditions favouring these payments still obtained, i.e. consumption by the landlord rather than conversion into money. Early seventeenth century poems describing life at Dunvegan under Rory Mor graphically describe unstinting hospitality to guest and tenant alike²⁶, and the 1577-1595 rents suggest that this hospitality could well be afforded. Lack of motivation must also have affected consumption or otherwise of produce rents. Royal policy of granting charters to rival claimants for a piece of land was deliberately aimed at causing conflict on the principle that division amongst the Highlands was better for the Crown than unity. Strife between the MacLeods and the MacDonalds of Clanranald was particularly ferocious, and incipient devastation was a way of life for most MacLeod tenants for much of the sixteenth century. The fact that raids were intermittent cannot have affected the precarious nature of the economy, and judging from the heavy toll of casualties which traditional accounts give of island warfare, for some tenants at least it seems to have been a matter of "eat, drink and be merry".

This state of affairs gradually ameliorated during the sixteenth century; James V visited the islands in 1536 and 1540, and though troubled years followed in the mid-sixteenth century, these visits, besides being a foretaste of later royal policy also had long-term effects in that in

1540 Tormod MacLeod, landlord between 1560-1585, was taken hostage. Some time between 1540 and 1559 he became a member of Queen Mary of Guise's French Bodyguard, and very possibly "served in France with much credit and distinction"²⁷. His period abroad must surely have influenced his subsequent way of life, and his conduct was in marked contrast to his blood-thirsty predecessor, Iain Dubh MacLeod. In 1585 he was summoned to Edinburgh to tender his advice on how the Highlands could best be settled as estates became embroiled and ravaged in the feud between the MacDonalds and the MacLeans; he died in that year, and was succeeded by William MacLeod who was again a peace-loving man, as indeed was his sovereign.

This is not the place for a general account of James VI's policy towards the Highlands; here it is only necessary to say that by means of General Bands in 1587, sureties and fines, James was by 1609 in a position to issue the Statutes of Iona in the fairly certain knowledge that they would be adhered to by landlords of the Highland estates. The watershed appears to have been the ending of the feud between Rory Mor and Donald Gorm MacDonald in 1601, since after this date it was no longer a question of whether the island landlords would submit to the Crown, but how long it would be before they did so. It took Rory Mor until 1609, but the issue was never in doubt. Besides, there was now nothing lost by doing so, since, as several historians have remarked, the energies formerly expended by the clansmen in retaining what security they had and trying to ensure possession of lands which were in equivocal ownership could, in these times of comparative territorial and economic security, be utilised in bettering their standards of living.

A clue to the changing economy is contained in an estimate of the

value of Scots exports drawn up in 1614. I.F. Grant calculated that of a total of £ 820,524, a third must have largely come from the Highlands. Included in this third were hides (£ 64,800), hart hides (£ 1,830), skins (£ 167,625), fox, roe and rabbit skins (£ 4,457) and salmon (£ 47,208)²⁸. This trade was apparently long-established, though one would imagine that most transactions would take place in districts fairly close to a market, e.g. Glasgow, Perth, Aberdeen and Inverness, and that the island trade would be less intensive, though Dean Monro remarked on an 'infinite slaughter of otters and martins in Harris'. One still gains the impression that the island produce rents in 1577-1595 were meant for food rather than for export, and there is no reason to think that the majority of produce rents were used any differently in 1614; there is no mention of either victual or wool. Thus the idea of conversion of staple rents into cash crops for export does not seem to apply in Rory Mor's case.

However, as early as 1502 the Crown received its rent in the form of marts, sent to the Lowlands via Inverness, and Trotternish paid 360 marts in 1595. A rent of such a high number of cattle implies a primarily pastoral economy for that district, and yet in 1614 only £ 64,800 was realised from cow and horsehides from the whole of Scotland as against over £ 100,000 more for deer and goat skins, worth in themselves substantially less. The solution to this enigma is possibly that the droving trade between Scotland and England during the sixteenth century had been intermittent and, for the most part, clandestine. Internal traffic was subject to constant cattle raids which meant that for much of the period shipping cattle from the Hebrides was not a viable proposition. However, "The first half of the seventeenth century showed only a gradual, tacit and unofficial recognition of the trade; but from now on the emphasis is laid less

on efforts to stop the trade than on measures to secure that the fullest advantage is obtained from its existence"²⁹. In other words political events resulted in a climate which enabled the driving movement, already in being, to expand to a point so marked as to suggest that the early seventeenth century can be described as the period of take-off in the Highland economy.

The second alternative, that of Rory Mor's money rents undergoing a massive increase thus seems reasonable when set into the political and economic context of the time. For the sudden increase in the value of his estates was by no means an isolated occurrence - just as startling were changes observable in the Gordon rentals during the early seventeenth century.

Whilst detailed calculations would be necessary to give exact figures the following list of representative holdings in Badenoch and their money rents in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries should give some idea of the overall trend and scale of increases³⁰.

	<u>1592</u>	<u>1600</u>	<u>1612</u> ²⁰
Stramassie	£ 2-13-4	£ 2-13-4	£ 66-13-4
Tirfadoun	5- 6-8	5- 6-8	80- 0-0
Middle Rait	5- 6-8	5- 6-8	120- 9-0
Balletmoir	5- 6-8	5- 6-8	140- 0-0
Ardbrylache	5- 6-8	5- 6-8	200- 0-0
Ruthven	6- 0-0	4- 0-0	500- 0-0

Rents of Lochaber and the Castlelands of Inverness seem to have been nominal ca 1600. In Gargavache it appears that money rents were paid according to land valuation, i.e. 1d paid 17/4 or 17/8d, and a 3½ merk-land would pay exactly that rent. In Mamore lands paid twice the val-

uation in merklands. There is unfortunately no evidence then available until the late 1630's, when amounts show similar increases in money rent due to those from Badenoch. In Lochaber lands paid in general between 40 and 50 marks per merkland.

This lack of evidence for rents during the second and third decades of the seventeenth century applies to all the Inverness-shire estates studied. Not until the early 1640's can an idea be had of the state of land values and money rents. As regards the MacLeod estate, there is slight information as regards land values from assessments made for the purposes of cess or land taxation in 1617, as follows:

Dunvegan and Glenelg = £ 26- 5-0 land

Waternish = £ 18-13-4 land

and cess was imposed at a rate of "thrie pennies money for ilk pundland of the said Sir Rorie's retornit land". Together with "compleit payment of all utheris taxations" the sum paid was £ 160-15-0 of which £ 93-7-6 appears to have been for other forms of tax³¹. The estate's value for taxation purposes was clearly based on different criteria from those obtaining in the transactions of 1611, and indeed from this time the rents and ancient estimations of the value of the land on the MacLeod estates finally diverge. Both the valuations and the rate remained constant at least in 1630, 1633, 1636 and 1637 when Waternish paid £ 28-0-0 and Dunvegan and Glenelg £ 39-7-6, totalling £ 67-7-6 per term. These figures are therefore of only incidental importance in establishing estate values in that the external conditions which imposed these values did not see fit to change them and not until 1643-1644 do we have a comprehensive survey of Inverness-shire lands. In 1643 an Act passed by the Convention of the Estates for the purposes of raising a loan to the English Parliament set aside the former valuation and commissioners were appointed to enquire into the "iust and trew worth" of every

inhabitant and their rent for the year 1643 "as weil of landis and teindis as of any uther thing whereby yearlie proffeit and commoditie aryseth", the "commodities" to include victual rents³².

This survey of MacLeod's estate is of inestimable importance in establishing seventeenth century landlord-tenant relations; especially when studied in conjunction with later valuations and rents. Yet one aspect of it has hitherto not been realised owing to a combination of errors of transcription by Alexander MacKenzie in the History of the Macleods and a quotation without verification by Canon MacLeod and I.F. Grant. Dr. Grant did indeed cite an approximately correct total in a passing reference to the valuation, but in a detailed footnote used MacKenzie's figures³³. The valuation of 1644 follows:

Parish of Kilbride	Scots
Sir John MacLeod of Dunvegan	2,333- 6-8
Norman MacLeod, the Laird's brother	<u>533- 6-8</u>
	2,866-13-4
Parish of Kilmuir in Skye	
Sir John MacLeod of Dunvegan	2,666-13-4
Wm. MacLeod, his brother	533- 6-8
Donald MacLeod, his brother	<u>666-13-4</u>
	3,866-13-4
Parishes of Oynart and Bracadale	
Sir John MacLeod of Dunvegan	2,000- 0-0
Roris MacLeod, his brother	1,200- 0-0
Lady MacLeod, elder	<u>666-13-4</u>
	3,866-13-4
Parish of Kilchunnen in Glenelg	
Sir John MacLeod of Dunvegan	4,000- 0-0
Lady MacLeod, elder	<u>533- 6-8</u>
(etc)	4,533- 6-8

If the 'proprietors' are classified in order of value, the proportions of the total are:

	<u>Pounds Scots</u>
John MacLeod	11,000
Lady MacLeod the elder	1,200
Rory MacLeod of Talisker	1,200
Donald MacLeod of Greshornish	666-13-4
William MacLeod of Hammer	533- 6-8
Norman MacLeod of Berneray	<u>533- 6-8</u>
	15,133- 6-8

All the historians named show John MacLeod's lands to be valued at £ 7,000; Canon MacLeod, having "only extracts of this (the valuation roll) before me", omitted Lady MacLeod's valued rent from the list and instead wrote "Rory MacLeod's widow had land somewhere worth £ 650 a year", without giving a reference. He then had to correlate his valued rents and the total of 16,600 merks mentioned in a receipt for cess 1645-1648 discharged 1661, which he attempted to do thus³⁴:

"In Sky John MacLeod of Dunvegan is assessed on	7,000- 0-0
Rory MacLeod Talisker	1,200- 0-0
William MacLeod Hammer	533- 6-8
Donald MacLeod Greshornish	<u>666-13-4</u>
	9,400- 0-0

In Harris Norman MacLeod is assessed on £ 533-6-8

I have no other figures for Harris and none for Glenelg, but in a statement of cess in 1645 I find that John MacLeod's total assessment was 16,000 merks, or £ 11,080. Assuming that this was based on the assessment of 1640, we get the following values for the whole estate in that year :-

In Skye	9,400- 0-0
Rory MacLeod's widow somewhere	650- 0-0
Norman MacLeod in Harris	533- 6-8
John MacLeod in Harris and Glenelg	<u>4,080- 0-0</u>
	14,663- 6-8 "

Despite his oversight of the values of Glenelg, the Canon nearly got his figures for John MacLeod right, i.e. if £ 4,000 of the £ 4,080 of the presumed rents of Harris and Glenelg are added to the £ 7,000 for Skye, it makes a total for John of £ 11,000. However his calculations were based on a false premise, as Harris, excluding Sir Norman's life rent, was already included in the £ 7,000 and almost half Lady MacLeod's life rent was not taken into consideration. The true figure was thus in excess of the Canon's estimated total - though his accompanying comment of "it is rather startling to find how valuable the MacLeod estates were" would certainly appear to hold true. MacLeod's assessment was the highest in the whole of Inverness-shire - greater than either Sir James MacDonald of Argyll, to whom the Duke of Gordon's lands had temporarily been given.

The true significance of this valuation is even more remarkable however. Quite simply, the valued rent of the MacLeod estate was apparently higher in 1644 than in either 1674 (£ 6,750), 1681 (£ 7,750), 1691 or 1695, when the valuation was finally fixed. Detailed figures for the two latter dates (Pounds Scots) are:

	<u>1691</u>	<u>1695</u>	<u>(1723)</u> ³⁵
Harris	1,300-0-0	1,250-0-0	1,300- 0-0
Berneray	433-6-8	1,000-0-0	433- 6-8
Kilmuir	1,800-0-0	1,700-0-0	2,533- 6-8
Dynort & Bracadale	1,270-0-0	1,250-0-0	2,300- 0-0
Glenelg	1,508-0-0	2,150-0-0	2,208- 0-0
Hammer	700-0-0	-	-
Greshornish	300-0-0	300-0-0	-
Talisker	1,030-0-0	1,000-0-0	-
Teinds	<u>-</u>	<u>100-0-0</u>	<u>100- 0-0</u>
	<u>£ 8,341-6-8</u>	<u>£ 8,750-0-0</u>	<u>£ 8,874-13-4</u>

Even taking into account incidental payments such as teinds, the difference of some £ 6,000 between the valued rents of the estate in 1644 and 1691 clearly merited further investigation, the most pressing problem being the relevance of valued rents to estate income in the two periods. In 1644 the valued rents of Argyll (vice the Duke of Gordon) for Badenoch and Lochaber, and those of Grant for Urquhart and Glenmoriston were slightly lower than incomes shown in their rentals, and those of feuers much higher than their feu duties to the landlord, as one would expect³⁶. Thus for these landlords at least the valued rents would seem to be a reasonably accurate estimate of what the lands were worth, and the actual income was likely to be in excess of, rather than below, the valued rent. There is nothing to indicate that on the MacLeod estates the picture was any different. Indeed, MacLeod himself was one of the nineteen landlords elected in 1645 as commissioners "to revalue and rectify the valuation of the hail sheriffdom of Inverness", in an attempt to make assessments more equal and to revise the taxation of the teinds; according to this valuation, valid at least between 1645 and 1648, his lands were worth 16,600 merks or £ 11,066-13-4³⁷.

Another piece of corroborative evidence for land values at this period dates from 1655 when Rorie Mor infefted his wife Margaret McKenzie in the six davochlands of Glenelg "being half thereof" and the four davochlands of Ilan Esay, with two adjacent davochs of Waternish in order to secure full access to the islands. It was calculated that the lands in question would produce 4,000 marks or £ 2,666-13-4 yearly but if they failed to do so Margaret was to be empowered to uplift rents from other parts of the estate to make up the total³⁸. Now according to the 1644 valuation, Iain Mor MacLeod and his mother, Rory Mor's widow, had land in Glenelg worth £ 4,533-6-8. Half of this total amounts to £ 2,266-13-4, and it seems very likely that Island Isay was four pennylands rather than davochs since it is only 1½ miles in extent, and when set to small tenants in the late seventeenth century it paid either 100 or 120 marks rent. Thus the 'two davoche lands of Waterness contiguous thereto' were most probably also two pennylands - quite enough 'for access' according to later land valuations. It would thus seem that the rents of half Glenelg plus the six pennylands of Skye in 1655 approximately agree with land values given in 1644, which makes it extraordinary that the valued rent of the estate in 1695 was only £ 8,750. Fortunately an approximate comparison can be made with late seventeenth century rentals, in which rents were paid as follows (Pounds Scots):

Skye Silver Rent 1683 ³⁹	8,305- 0-0
Harris Money Rent 1684	2,651- 7-4
Glenelg Money Rent 1699	4,000- 0-0
Berneray's Liferent	533- 6-8
St. Kilda	<u>66-13-4</u>
	15,556m-7-4 or
	<u>£ 10,371- 0-8</u>

In such a comparison, Dr. Grant's observation regarding feued land is highly relevant - "Although the increased use of the tenure of the feu was enabling the chiefs of many clans to give suitable possession of land to favourite younger sons the MacLeods of Dunvegan were undeviatingly consistent in their policy of not granting any younger son a heritable claim to their lands. They had indeed established several cadet branches, but with possibly one most important exception, that of Gesto, their lands were apparently merely held at the will of the chief⁴⁰. Thus Rory Mor's younger sons in the seventeenth century were given liferents in certain areas, as follows:

Rory MacLeod of Talisker (35d+) worth p.a.	1,800m-0-0
Norman MacLeod of Berneray (25d)	800m-0-0
William MacLeod of Hammer (22d)	800m-0-0
Donald MacLeod of Greshornish (20d of Waternish)	1,000m-0-0

The 1683 rentals show that the "Sillver Rent of a part of ye land of Migginesse sume time possesst in liferent be umquhill Sir rorie McLeod of tallaskir now be John McLeod of dunbegane for crop & year 1683" was 1014 merks, and produce rents would have ~~to be~~ added to this figure - Talisker itself, rented at 300 merks in 1706, was also not included in the Silver Rent List. The assessment in 1691 of £ 1,000 or 1500 merks is therefore much lower than the actual value of the lands to the occupier, since the rents paid will naturally be a minimum estimate of its productivity - e.g. the lands of Sir Norman MacLeod of Berneray, which paid 250 merks' rent in 1724, were worth 800 merks p.a. in liferent in 1644. William MacLeod of Hammer paid in 1724 only £ 66-13-4 money rent yet his holding amounted to 22d, valued in 1644 at £ 533-6-8. These relatives of the landlord were therefore at the end of the seventeenth century obviously paying him a very low rent compared to the value of

their holdings, and the actual income received by them. A similar phenomenon can be observed elsewhere in Inverness-shire with one striking difference - people paying low rents to the Duke of Gordon and Laird of Grant according to the 1691 valuation were mostly wadsetters, whose feu duties would bear little relation to the income they received from their lands. Also, lands on these estates were almost wholly occupied by single tenants of large holdings with a social hierarchy and organisation of estate income consequently very different from that of the MacLeods. However, the fact remains that the landlord's income on three of the largest of Inverness estates was considerably higher than the assessments cited in the valuations of the late seventeenth century.

The final check on Harris Money Rents before 1680 is the relative proportion of total income that it paid compared to the rest of the estate in the seventeenth century compared to the sixteenth century. The criterion used will have to be money rent alone, owing to lack of evidence, but the final picture emerges as follows:

Proportions of the total rent paid in the late seventeenth century were⁴¹:

	Pounds Scots
Bracadale	1,724-11-8
Lindle	592- 0-0
Duirinish	2,607-18-4
Minginish	1,980- 0-0
Waternish	1,312-13-4
Glenelg	5,242- 6-8
Harris	<u>3,715-15-10</u>
	<u>£ 16,905- 5-10</u>

To this total may be added kitchen, wedders and mart money from Skye, Berneray's rent (in 1706 £ 166-13-4d) and teinds from Glenelg - marts and mart money are never shown on rentals for that part of the estate.

Canon MacLeod's observation that "Waternish to a very great extent and Bracadale and Minginish to a less degree, were arable districts, and consequently more valuable in times when the importation of grain was unknown"⁴² is thus illuminating since Waternish was similar in valuation to Harris, and yet their rents in 1680 very different, and Harris was also reputed to be productive of arable crops.

Indeed, in 1680 produce and casualty rents together accounted for more than the money rent, and its victual rent alone equalled a quarter of Glenelg's total rent. Yet that area, comprising only two valleys and the northern side of Loch Hourn, was worth more to the landlord at the end of the seventeenth century than the whole of Harris and its islands, and the differences in amounts and types of rent paid help to put the latter's contribution to the estate in the seventeenth century into perspective. As the minister of Glenelg remarked in the Old Statistical Account: "Grazing seems to be the only kind of farming for which this country is adapted; from necessity, and not from choice, agriculture is carried on; the frequent rains, together with the inundations of the rivers, prove so destructive as to render the crops sometimes insipid and useless", and he remarked that "even in a good year, the food raised was barely sufficient to maintain families for three-quarters of the year"⁴³. Thus it seems fairly clear that the value of Glenelg lay in its stocks of cattle - produce rents were less than a tenth of the money rent in the late seventeenth century. This is important in the context of estate values, since the earliest solid evidence that has survived is that Glenelg was worth £ 120 in 1527 - and since the droving

trade had not come into its own at that time, Glenelg's value to the landlord was probably lower than other areas of the estate. Yet between 1527 and the 1680's its rent increased more than 41 times, and the same cannot be said for Harris.

In 1595 the island was clearly of great importance. By 1644 rents of Duirinish and Glenelg were of greater value, but even so the Harris proportion of the total estate income was higher than in 1680. The Factor's Account for 1744, Walker's Description of 1764 and the Old Statistical Account all suggest, however, that between 200 and 300 cows were sold to drovers yearly from Harris, while 2,537 cattle were said to be driven from Snizort to Portree every year and 2,000 swam over the straits of Kylerhea. The type of economy which this implies is a feasible explanation why Harris rents before 1680 suffered a relative decline compared to other parts of the estate.

HARRIS MONEY RENTS 1680 - 1754.

After the deficient and ambiguous nature of evidence for rents before 1680 it came as something of a relief to be able to rely on the information provided by rentals, and the section in Chapter 3 has shown what achievements are possible with their help. Results did, of course, depend on how accurately they were used and most rentals are undoubtedly difficult documents to interpret, needing time, patience and mathematical facilities. Were any of these factors to be in short supply, conclusions were bound to be affected, as happened in the cases of Canon MacLeod and Dr. Grant. Both those historians lacked the mathematical equipment available to present-day researchers, and it was clear that extensive processing was required for inferences to be valid. The obvious choice was to enlist the aid of a computer, but this was ruled out owing to too many variables and the lack of a constant base, either of land valuation or rent. The next best course was therefore adopted - that of using a manually operated desk computer to facilitate such steps as addition of rents, conversion from merks to pounds Scots and averaging. These processes, though laborious and time-consuming, resulted in print-outs which represented the optimum blend of accuracy and allowances for deviations. Results were then shown in the form of tables which appear throughout the rest of the thesis, and because inferences made will be solely dependent upon these results, the different sections based upon the tables are prefaced with a short "pedigree", or explanation of how they were achieved. Though a certain amount of detail will necessarily be included in them, they are probably of greater value when put into the same context as the conclusions which use them as their basis.

Before any serious work on the money rents themselves could be undertaken it seemed essential that the casualty rents of cess, teinds and mart money should first of all be calculated. This was because from 1713 onwards cess and mart money became an integral part of the money rent. Before that date there is, unfortunately, very little evidence for amounts; certainly none for how or how often they were paid. Before 1700 they are either not shown at all in rentals or appear in separate lists (usually incomplete). Between 1700 and 1713 they occasionally appear in rentals but are still shown separately. Thus only by adding the different types of rents could a reasonable comparison be made between money rents of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, and the following tables indicate as far as possible amounts due and sources of information.

Cess

	<u>dlands</u>	<u>Perks</u>	<u>s</u>	<u>d</u>	=	<u>£</u>	<u>s</u>	<u>d</u>	
Kirktown	7	28	0	0		18	13	4	1
Lingay	2	8	0	0		5	6	8	1
Middletown	2	8	0	0		5	6	8	1-1d=4 merks, no other evidence
Northtown	3	12	0	0		8	0	0	1,2
Ensay & Elie	5½	22	0	0		14	13	4	1,3
Drinfuint	1	4	0	0		2	13	4	1,2,4
South Copiphell	2½	10	0	0		6	13	4	1-20 merks, 2
North Copiphell	3	12	0	0		8	0	0	1-8 merks, 4
South Scarsta	3	12	0	0		8	0	0	No evidence: taken from basic rate
North Scarsta	4	16	0	0		10	13	4	1,3-Kirkpenny = 4 merks.
Meikle Borrow	2¾	11	0	0		7	6	8	1,4
Middle Borrow	2¾	11	0	0		7	6	8	1,4
Little Borrow	2¾	11	0	0		7	6	8	1,4
Horgisbost	2½	10	0	0		6	13	4	1
Seilebost	2	8	0	0		5	6	8	1,3
Luskintyre	3	12	0	0		8	0	0	1
Hushinish & Scarp	5	20	0	0		13	6	8	1-Error in addition = 20m. H&S omitted
Pablie	4	16	0	0		10	13	4	1,3
Rae	3	12	0	0		8	0	0	1,2
Elie	4	16	0	0		10	13	4	1
Scalpay	1	4	0	0		2	13	4	1,2,4
Strond	5	20	0	0		13	6	8	1,2,3
Finsbay	0½	2	0	0		1	6	8	1
Rowdill	1	16	0	0		10	13	4	1,3,4
	<u>72½</u>	<u>301</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>0</u>		<u>200</u>	<u>13</u>	<u>4</u>	

1 = "Ane nott of ye Cesse of ye land of ye hearish as it is payed per pennies paying four merks per pennie land".

2 = Figure agrees with that given for tenant(s) in arrears for Cess, 1679

3 = List of rests on back of 1701 Rental.

Rental.

4 = 1703 Rental.

Mart Money

	<u>lands</u>	<u>Marks</u>	<u>s</u>	<u>d</u>	=	<u>£</u>	<u>s</u>	<u>d</u>	<u>Marts</u>	
Kirktown	7	7	0	0		4	13	4 1	1	All rentals until 1724 except 1702
Lingay	2	4	0	0		2	13	4 1,2	-	
Middletown	2	4	0	0		2	13	4 No evidence basic rate	-	
Northtown	3	6	0	0		4	0	0 2	-	
Ensay & Eile	5½	4	0	0		2	13	4 1	1	1680,4,5,1703-1720 None in 1698, 1701,2,1724
Drinfuint	1	2	0	0		1	6	8 1,3	-	
South Copiphell	2½	5	0	0		3	6	8 1	-	
North Copiphell	3	-	-	-		-	-	-	1	1680-1724
South Scarsta	3	6	0	0		4	0	0 1,2	-	
North Scarsta	4	8	0	0		5	6	8 1	-	
Meikle Borrow	2½	2	0	0		1	6	8 1,2,3	-	
Middle Borrow	2½	5	6	8		3	13	4 1,2,3=4m	-	
Little Borrow	2½	5	6	8		3	13	4 1,2=5m,3=4m	-	
Horgisbost	2½	5	3	4		3	10	0 4)No evidence before 1724	-	
Seilebost	2	4	0	0		2	13	4 4)	-	
Luskintyre	3	-	-	-		-	-	-	1	1680-5,1724
Hushinish & Scarp	5	-	-	-		-	-	-	1	1680-5,Scarp 1724
Pablie	4	-	-	-		-	-	-	1	1680-5,1724
Raa	3	-	-	-		-	-	-	1	1680-5,1724
Eile	4	-	-	-		-	-	-	lor2	1680-5=2,1724=1
Scalpay	1	-	-	-		-	-	-	-	
Strond	5	-	-	-		-	-	-	1	1680-1724
Finsbay	0½	-	-	-		-	-	-	-	
Roudil	1	-	-	-		-	-	-	-	
	<u>72½</u>	<u>68</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>4</u>		<u>45</u>	<u>10</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>8-10</u>	

1 = 1697 Rental - Marts (total 8) not ascribed to townships

2 = 1698 Rental

3 = 1703 Rental

4 = 1724 Rental

Teinds

	clands	Perks	s	d	=	£	s	d	Bolls
Kirktown	7	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	17½ 2,3,4-17,5
Lingay	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	4½ 2,3,4,5
Middletown	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Northtown	3	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	6 2,3,4,5
Ensay & Eise	5½	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	19 2
Drimfuit	1	8	0	0		5	6	8	1,2,3,4,5
South Copiphell	2½	21	0	0		14	0	0	1-17m+8m for 2½d + ½d,2,3,4,5
North Copiphell	3	24	0	0		16	0	0	1,2,3,4,5
South Scarsta	3	21	0	0		14	0	0	1-Laird's Part = 12m,2,3,4
North Scarsta	4	4	0	0		2	13	4	2,3
Meikle Borrow	2¾	22	0	0		14	13	4	2,3,4,5
Middle Borrow	2¾	19	3	4		12	16	8	2,3,4-19m-7-4,5-22m
Little Borrow	2¾	22	0	0		14	13	4	2,3,4,5
Horgisbost	2½	20	0	0		13	6	8	6
Seilebost	2	16	0	0		10	13	4	Rests on back of 1701 Rental,6
Luskintyre	3	24	0	0		16	0	0	6
Hushinish & Scarp	5	24	0	0		16	0	0	Hushinish)
		16	0	0		10	13	4	Scarp) 6
Pablie	4	32	0	0		21	6	8	6
Rae	3	24	0	0		16	0	0	6
Eise	4	32	0	0		21	6	8	6
Scalpay	1	20	0	0		13	6	8	2,3,4,5
Strond	5	42	0	0		28	0	0	1-50m,2,3,4,5
Finsbay	0½	3	0	0		2	0	0	1,2,3,4,5
Roudil	1	32	0	0		21	6	8	1,2,4,5
	72½	426	3	4		284	3	4	+ 47 bolls of teind victual

1 = An note of the laird mcleod his third of ye theiths of ye land of ye
Hearish 1685

2 = 1698 Rental, the tythes paying 1 boll per ½d land.

3 = 1701 Rental,

4 = 1702 Rental,

5 = 1703 Rental,

6 = 1724 Rental - no evidence available previously.

Cess, or Land Tax (p. 209) was first recorded in 1617. Until 1696 it was levied as a proportion of an estate's valued rent and the levy fluctuated according to times of peace and war - very rarely was it levied at the full rate. There is not very much evidence for Harris; in 1681 the rate was £ 1-13-4 per £ 100, rising to £ 2-6-0 in 1688. In 1692 Macleod had troops quartered upon him very briefly for being £ 5,000 - £ 6,000 in arrears for cess, which was finally paid in 1693 and in 1696 the Harris valued rent became fixed at £ 1,773-6-8, the cess for that year totalling £ 294-13-4 at 4/- in the pound Scots.

The rentals show that the payment of cess by the Harris tenantry was at a constant rate, but that its collection was often spasmodic or levied retrospectively. 1679's cess was included in a list of 'rests' at the end of the 1680 rental, and there was no mention of it until 1701 except for an undated "Nott of ye Cess"¹, probably for 1685 as it corresponds with a similar list of teinds in that year. The compiler of the Note was apparently unfamiliar with at least some of the Harris holdings as his land valuations were occasionally incorrect, and he omitted Hushinish and Scarp. The total of 269 merks could therefore be misleading but the rate of four merks per pennyland, except for the 1d of Rowdil which paid 16 merks, agrees with all the other evidence available including the back of the 1701 Harris rental which shows arrears for as much as three years. We have then no further evidence with the sole exception of the wadset lands in 1724 which paid approximately £ 2 per pennyland.

Mart money was always a comparatively minor payment, and there is no evidence to show that it was paid before 1697. The approximate rate appears to have been two merks per pennyland, but there were some exceptions as, for instance, in Scalpay, Finsbay and Rowdil where mart

money was either included in the money rent or, more probably, waived of the 1684 rental "The compleit payt of ye pennieland of Rowdall extends to 320 merks and threstie two of theiths and saxeine merks of cess". Some holdings combined the payment of mart money with a mart, or paid only the latter, which raised the tricky problem of conversion discussed on p.²⁹⁴ Some holdings in the 1724 rental showed either cess or mart money separately from their money rent due. Since there were comparatively few examples of either, the majority showing "Cess and Mart Money included", the greater number of holdings showing cess but no mart money would seem to indicate the declining importance of the latter rent. Indeed, the amalgamation of the three types of rent probably made for administrative convenience, could indicate that both cess and mart money were becoming increasingly nominal sums in comparison with the money rent due.

Teinds, on the other hand, are always shown separately. During the seventeenth century Harris clergy were given two-thirds of the teinds which were probably paid in kind.² The rest, in money rent, went to the Macleod landlord via a tack which he received from the Bishop of the Isles for the sum of 45 merks in 1621, 55 in 1662, and 55m-6-8 in 1680. The payments seem very small, but were probably a realistic valuation since Macleod paid for the furnishing of the elements for Holy Communion, repairs to churches and any taxation to which the teinds were liable. Teind fishes were reserved to the Bishop, so they must have been considered an important item of revenue.

The Harris teinds were collected in the seventeenth century by MacLeod's Chamberlain - in 1663 John MacKenzie rested 175 merks owing by him of the Harris teinds. Apparently the Minister there received £ 100 in lieu of a manse and glebe.³ The first reference to teinds in the rentals

occurs in the silver rent list paid in 1683, when tythes were included with the rests of 1682. The 1684 list of rests, written in May 1685, included the memorandum "it is to be remembered that this martinmasse next theithes is included", but they do not appear in the 1685 rental. In 1685, there is, however, "An note of the laird mcleod his third of ye theiths of ye land of ye Hearish". Settlements paying their teinds to Macleod were the ones nearest Roudil and were possibly chosen for ease of collection, as however diligently or efficiently they were collected, discharges show that Macleod paid his tack duty rather spasmodically. In 1671 a receipt was granted by the son of the 'deceist bishop of the Iles' for 400 merks tack duty for 1662-1670. A similar document in 1680 covered the years 1671 - 1679, one in 1687 for 1680-1685, and a final one in 1693 for 1686-1688. In the latter year the teinds became the property of the Synod of Argyle who sublet them to Campbell of Stonefield, and Macleod paid no teinds between 1688 and 1699, when he was ordered to pay them.

The first mention of teinds in an actual rental occurred in 1697 when Macleod's third was 150 merks and 24 bolles, the same amount as in 1698 when the teinds of all settlements except the wadset were shown at a rate of approximately eight merks per pennyland. This rate remained more or less constant until early 1754, so it may be assumed that it was relevant for some time before 1685, given the stable sums of tack duty in the seventeenth century.

At the end of the 1698 rental is written "The Lairds third pairt of ye tythes of Hairish besides qt is abovewritt is 100 = pounds Scots of money and 24 boalls of victuall, ye ads 24 boalls is all ye tythes of Berneray except one boall it payes of ye ministers 3 chalders". Above-written is "The whole money rent, boalls, and other casualities of ye

Hairish (ye ministers three hundred merks and three chalders victuall of tythes being therein included, for his Lands of Esay and Igh)". The teinds in the rental amounted to 246½ merks and 28 teind bolls excluding the wadset lands. In the rental Ensay and Eile were 'sett the minister Master John Campbell in lieu of his tythes - valued to 300 merks money rent and 3 chalders of victual' - out of which he had to pay himself 19 bolls of teind victual. Apparently he had been set Ensay in 1696, but how temporary an arrangement this was is not known. Previously (1680-1685) he had been tenant of 2d in Ensay and 1½d in the eye of Copiphell, and though in 1702 3d is not mentioned of Ensay, by 1703 it reverted to other tenants, and the minister held South Copiphell. In the 1701 rental the entry for North Scarsta states "there is but 4 merks of the tythes of the sds 4 pennies (paid by the kirkpenny) to be recoved in the ministers 300 merks". It would thus appear that Macleod set the minister Ensay, and allowed him to collect the rents payable by that holding rather than the 300 merks and 48 bolls of victual due from the rest of Harris. No explanation is given for this, but it may well be connected with the hardship being felt by most people at that time due to poor agricultural returns.

On the back of the 1701 rental there occur examples of teind rests, though there are not as many as for cess and mart money which could indicate that at least some were being collected. However, in the 1712 discharge there appears the entry "Item to Rory and Donald MacLeods Chamberlands as formerly (their fees) and of addition for uplifting McLeods proportion of the Tythes and the Ministers Stipends not formerly used to be uplifted by the Chamberlands in Sky and Herries as also the bolls" which is something of an enigma as who else was there formerly to collect the stipends but the various Factors or Chamberlains? An entry in the 1718 discharge throws some light on conditions

at the time - "Item paid of Stipend to Mr. Archibald MacQueen Minister of Snizort for Ten Years in consequence of his Decreet of Modifikation and Locality as pr Discharge ... 1100m-0-0". For some reason the Minister had not received his rent since 1708, and indeed the amounts of teinds due from Snizort were not even known for some time before 1716 when Murdoch MacLeod in Treaslane was paid his nine merks expenses "in taking up the Rental of Snizort paroch in order to discover the true Extent of the Tythes thereof". It also looks as though Tack Duty had not been paid either - there are discharges in 1705 and 1706 showing that the 50 merks had been paid to Lieutenant Young for 1701 and to Duncan McArthure for 1703, 1706 and 1707, but there are then no further entries except for sums disbursed for Communion elements (between 30m-0-0 and 55m-0-0, 1705 'and precedings' and 1707 excepted) and Campbell of Stonefield was paid £ 812 for 24 years' tack duty in 1737.

The picture thus described is one of considerable disorganisation and it may have been for this reason that in 1724 Norman MacLeod collected the teinds of the Clergy as well as his own third, and paid his ministers a fixed stipend which in Harris was apparently £ 533-6-8. In 1753 the teinds were fixed at one fifth of the then rental, in Harris £ 667-3-4, of which he paid a stipend of £ 633-6-0, communion elements and repairs to churches. However, the suggested augmentations of rent in 1754 show no increase in teinds, and while they are not included as separate items, if earlier teind amounts are deducted from several of the new rents, these correspond to earlier amounts of rent due (cf p.217), so any increase must have come mainly from higher converted prices of the teind bolls.

From this survey it can be seen that total casualties per pennyland amounted to approximately 14 merks (8m teinds, 4m cess and 2m mart money).

HARRIS MONEY RENTS 1680 - 1754

	Kirkcaldy	Angus	Middle-town	North-town	Ensay	Elie	Drumfries	South-Capitell	North-Capitell	South-Scars	North-Scars	Meikle-Borrow	Middle-Borrow	Little-Borrow	Hargisbush	Sellebush	Luskintyre	Hushinish	Scarp	Public	Raa	Elie	Scalpay	Marine	Strand	Total	Finshaw	Rowdell	Total
marks	175--	60--	44--	80--	260--	40--	72--	68--	100--		130--	130--	83--	82--	72--	120--	80--	280--	120--	100--	100--	110--	80--	2379--	24--	248--	2651--		
1680	116-13-4	40--	29-6-8	53-6-8	173-6-8	26-13-4	48-6-8	66-13-4			86-13-4	86-13-4	55-6-8	55--	48--	80--	53-6-8	186-13-4	80--	66-13-4	106-13-4	73-6-8	53-6-8	1586--	16--	165-6-8	1767-6-8		
marks	175--	60--	44-0-4	80-0-4	265-8-4	40--	72-6-8	100--			130--	130--	82-6-8	82-6-8	72--	120--	80--	280--	120--	100--	100--	110--	80--	2384-2-4	24--	243--	2651-2-4		
1684	116-13-4	40--	29-7-0	53-7-0	177-1-8	26-13-4	48-6-8	66-13-4			86-13-4	86-13-4	55--	55--	48--	80--	53-6-8	186-13-4	80--	66-13-4	106-13-4	73-6-8	53-6-8	1589-9-0	16--	162--	1767-9-0		
marks	175--	60--	44-0-4	80-0-4	263-3-4	40--	72-6-8	100--			130--	130--	41-3-4	82-6-8	72--	120--	80--	280--	120--	100--	200--	110--	80--	2380-7-4	24--	266--	2670-7-4		
1685	116-13-4	40--	29-7-0	53-7-0	175-10-0	26-13-4	48-6-8	66-13-4			86-13-4	86-13-4	27-10-0	55--	48--	80--	53-6-8	186-13-4	80--	66-13-4	133-6-8	73-6-8	53-6-8	1587-0-8	16--	177-6-8	1780-7-4		
marks	205--	60--	80--		245--	40--	72--	100--	80--	130--	130--	75--	80--									110--	140--	1547--	24--	320--	1891--		
1687	116-13-4	40--		53-6-8	163-6-8	26-13-4	48--	66-13-4	53-6-8	86-13-4	86-13-4	50--	53-6-8									73-6-8	93-6-8	1031-6-8	16--	213-6-8	1260-13-4		
marks	205--	60--		80-0-8	300--	40--	72-6-8	100--	80--	120--	130--	75--	80-6-8									180--	70--	1593-0-8	free	290--	1583-0-8		
1688	116-13-4	40--		53-7-4	200--	26-13-4	48-6-8	66-13-4	53-6-8	80--	86-13-4	50--	53-13-4									120--	46-13-4	1062-0-8	free	193-6-8	1255-7-4		
marks	205--	60--		80--	300--	50--	75--	100--	80--	120--	130--	80--	80--									180--	70--	1610--		220--	1830--		
1701	116-13-4	40--		53-6-8	200--	33-6-8	50--	66-13-4	53-6-8	80--	86-13-4	53-6-8	53-6-8									120--	46-13-4	1073-6-8		146-13-4	1220--		
marks	205--	60--		80--	90--	60--	90--	100--	80--	120--	130--	80--	80--									180--	70--	1475--	30--	225--	1730--		
1702	116-13-4	40--		53-6-8	60--	40--	33-6-8	60--	66-13-4	53-6-8	80--	86-13-4	53-6-8	53-6-8									120--	46-13-4	983-6-8	20--	150--	1153-6-8	
marks	204--	60--		80--	258-1-8	50--	90--	100--	80--	120--	130--	80--	80--									180--	70--	1582-1-8	24--	359--	1941-1-8		
1703	116--	40--		53-6-8	172-1-8	33-6-8	60--	66-13-4	53-6-8	80--	86-13-4	53-6-8	53-6-8									120--	46-13-4	1054-15-0	16--	239-6-8	1294-1-8		
marks	208--	64--		60--	260--	50--	90--	83--	126--	110--	80--	80--	80--									180--	70--	1461--		280--	1741--		
1706	118-13-4	42-13-4		40--	173-6-8	33-6-8	60--	55-6-8	84--	73-6-8	53-6-8	53-6-8										120--	46-13-4	974--		186-13-4	1160-13-4		
marks	208--	64--		60--	260--	50--	90--	83--	126--	100--	80--	80--	80--									180--	70--	1451--		280--	1731--		
1707	118-13-4	42-13-4		40--	173-6-8	33-6-8	60--	55-6-8	84--	66-13-4	53-6-8	53-6-8										120--	46-13-4	967-6-8		186-13-4	1154--		
marks	208--	64--		50--	264--	50--	90--	96--	126--	142--	80--	84--										180--	70--	1504--		240--	1744--		
1708	118-13-4	42-13-4		33-6-8	176--	33-6-8	60--	64--	84--	94-8-4	53-6-8	56--										120--	46-13-4	1002-13-4		160--	1162-13-4		
marks	211-6-8	64--		60--	450--	37--	90--	96--	126--	82--	80--	75-7-4										180--	70--	1622-0-8		300--	1922-0-8		
1709	141--	42-13-4		40--	300--	24-13-4	60--	64--	84--	54-13-4	53-6-8	50-7-4										120--	46-13-4	1081-7-4		200--	1281-7-4		
marks	212--	64--		55--	500--	188--		96--	99--	82--	80--	84--										180--	70--	1710--		295--	2005--		
1710	141-6-8	42-13-4		36-13-4	333-6-8		125-6-8	64--	66--	54-13-4	53-6-8	56--										120--	46-13-4	1140--		196-13-4	1336-13-4		
marks	212--	64--		50--	450--		240--	96--	137--	82--	80--	84--										180--	70--	1745--		295--	2040--		
1711	141-6-8	42-13-4		33-6-8	300--		160--	64--	91-6-8	54-13-4	53-6-8	56--										120--	46-13-4	1163-6-8		196-13-4	1360--		
marks	212--	64--		50--	450--		240--	96--	90--	80--	80--	80--										180--	70--	1702--		295--	1997--		
1712	141-6-8	42-13-4		33-6-8	300--		160--	64--	66-13-4	53-6-8	53-6-8	53-6-8										120--	46-13-4	1134-13-4		196-13-4	1331-6-8		
marks	233-8-0		136--		400--	(-)	120--	109--	109-10-0	164-2-8	90-3-4	90-3-4	90-3-4									184--	85--	1812-4-0		320-8-4	2132-12-4		
1713	155-14-8		90-13-4		266-13-4	(-)	80--	72-13-4	73-3-4	109-9-4	60-3-4	60-3-4	60-3-4									122-13-4	56-13-4	1208-4-0		213-15-0	1421-19-0		
marks	233-8-0		136--		400--	(-)	120--	109--	109-10-0	164-2-8	90-3-4	90-3-4	90-3-4									184--	85--	1812-4-0		320-8-4	2132-12-4		
1714	155-14-8		90-13-4		266-13-4	(-)	80--	72-13-4	73-3-4	109-9-4	60-3-4	60-3-4	60-3-4									122-13-4	56-13-4	1208-4-0		213-15-0	1421-19-0		
marks	233-8-0		136--		400--		130--	109--	105--	164-2-8	90-3-4	90-3-4	90-3-4									184--	85--	1817-7-4		320-8-4	2138-2-4		
1715	155-14-8		90-13-4		266-13-4		86-13-4	72-13-4	70--	109-9-4	60-3-4	60-3-4	60-3-4									122-13-4	56-13-4	1211-14-0		213-15-0	1425-9-0		
marks	233--		136--		400--		120--	109--	105--	164--	90-3-4	90-3-4	90-3-4									184--	85--	1806-10-0		320--	2126-10-0		
1716	155-6-8		90-13-4		266-13-4		80--	72-13-4	70--	109-6-8	60-3-4	60-3-4	60-3-4									122-13-4	56-13-4	1204-10-0		213-6-8	1417-16-8		
marks	233--		136--		480--		100--	109--	105--	190-6-0	90-3-4	90-3-4	90-3-4									184--	85--	1793-2-8		297--	2090-2--		
1717	155-6-8		90-13-4		320--		100--	72-13-4	70--	126-19-4	60-3-4	60-3-4	60-3-4									122-13-4	56-13-4	1195-9-4		198--	1393-9-4		
marks	233--	64--	40--		400--	(-)	100--	109--	96--	190-12-0	100--	68--	90-3-4									184--	85--	1560-2-0		297-10-0	1957-12-0		
1718	155-6-8	42-13-4		26-13-4	266-13-4	(-)	100--	72-13-4	64--	127-5-4	100--	45-6-8	60-3-4									122-13-4	56-13-4	1040-2-0		198-10-0	1238-12-0		
marks	233--	64--	40--		400--		50--	109--	96--	190--	50--	68--	90-3-4									184--	85--	1659-3-4		316--	1975--		
1719	155-6-8	42-13-4		26-13-4	266-13-4		33-6-8	72-13-4	64--	126-13-4	33-6-8	45-6-8	60-3-4									122-13-4	56-13-4	1106-3-4		210-13-4	1316-16-8		
marks	224-3-4	60--	30--		450--		(-)	109--	104-6-8	180--	90-3-4	90-3-4	90-3-4									184--	85--	1697-6-8		293-3-4	1990-10-0		
1720	149-10-0	40--	20--		300--	(-)	72-13-4	69-13-4	120--	60-3-4	60-3-4	60-3-4										122-13-4	56-13-4	1131-13-4		195-10-0	1327-3-0		
A'							66-13-4								50--	80--	53-6-8			80--	66-13-4	133-6-8	46-13-4	1920--			2154-13-0		
							66--								55--	64--				68--	66--	68--	110--	mm 6--			mm 6--		
																							63--				63--		
1724	226-13-4				300--		94--	72-13-4	64--	138-13-4	60-3-4	60-3-4	60-3-4	58-6-8	86-13-4	59-6-8	100--	106-13-4	88--	72-13-4	141-6-8	133-6-8	56-13-4	1979--	13-6-8	221-6-8	2213-13-0		
B'							66-13-4																68-12-10						
							66--																60--						
1724	226-13-4				300--		94--	72-13-4	64--	138-13-4	60-3-4	60-3-4	60-3-4	Feu duty 33-6-8								133-6-8	78-12-10	1322-1-2	13-6-8	221-6-8	1556-14-0		
1735	164-6-8	63-6-8			300--	33-6-8	94--	72-13-4	69-6-8	138-13-4	120-6-8	60-3-4	58-6-8	376--			88--	72-13-4	141-6-8	133-6-8	67-6-8	2053-3-4	20--	221-6-8	2294-10-0				
1746							(253-17-4)	121-1-4																					

Some holdings in Harris therefore paid almost as much as a third again on top of the money rent - a substantial proportion, but the overall impression is given that cess and teinds, as 'public burdens', were not really burdensome as the greatest amounts, i.e. teinds, were paid by tenants with large holdings, and in years when some difficulty was being felt in meeting the rents, casualties were either postponed or ignored, as happened in the early eighteenth century.

Once figures for cess, mart money and teinds were obtained, a reasonable survey of money rents was possible, expressed in the table on p.217 which shows all the money rents due from Harris townships between 1680 and 1754. Owing to the amount of information that it includes the table possibly appears rather daunting at first sight. An explanation therefore follows of its aims and how it was tabulated.

Amounts of money rents payable by each holding were taken from the rentals exactly as written, so cess and mart money were not included prior to 1713. This meant that a long-term comparison of basic rents during the period was not feasible, and a table showing rents plus casualty rents for various years between 1680-1754 appears separately on p.238. The aims of this table were threefold: to discover whether the sums of money rents payable by holdings remained stable from year to year, to explore reasons for variations, and finally, in a comparison between holdings, to discover which money rents were economically realistic during the period.

In most of the rentals totals were not given and an early correlation of the few given by seventeenth century Factors with totals given by the desk computer ended in its non-cooperation as the differences were not based on logical processes. It was therefore decided to ignore the

Factors' attempts. As rentals until 1720 are shown in merks, rents earlier than that date from every individual holding in the various townships were converted into Pounds Scots and totals calculated in a separate process, both in pounds Scots and in merks as a control. Rowdil owing to its particular complexity caused almost as much trouble as the rest of the holdings put together. Results were finally double-checked in an effort to avoid mathematical errors.

Questions of interpretation were resolved on the following basis. Holdings which did not appear in the early rentals were excluded throughout and Finsbay and Rowdil shown separately from the other holdings. The wadset lands were perforce left blank, though in all probability William Macleod of Berneray extracted the rents deponed in the first of the two 1724 rentals ('A') dated 6.8.1724. This was the far more detailed one showing rents and names of deponents, and incidentally whether they were able to write their names. It also showed cess and mart money separately, unlike Rental 'B' dated the sixth and eleventh of August. This rental was more a summary showing rents due from holdings excluding the wadset but including its feu duty of £ 33-6-8. The 1746 rental, part of which is missing, is unique in that it states the total money rent due from each holding, including produce rents as well as the casualties of cess, teinds and mart money.

Four versions of the 1754 rentals are shown, of which the first (1754 'E') represents the unaugmented sums of money rent shown in the series of proposed increases of rents sometime in 1754. These rents correspond with totals given in the 1753 Factors' Accounts. The next column shows the proposed increases and the final two indicate the rents which were finally levied in the judicial rental of 1754, both excluding and including teinds, the latter amount constituting the 'Money Rent' payable out of each possession.

Despite the lack of availability of rentals for individual years 1724-1754, the evidence from earlier rentals taken in conjunction with what is known from later contemporary Factors' Accounts indicates clearly that money rents did not remain static. This was only to be anticipated but the unexpected does emerge in that the table shows that there was no set pattern of either increases or decreases, and furthermore, in the case of increases there was no one year in which all holdings had their money rents raised. This being so, the question of tacks must be carefully explored, since they might normally have been considered to affect money rents the most.

Documents exist to prove that tacks were set in 1735 and 1754, but unfortunately the evidence is both uncertain and obscure regarding earlier tacks. Most of the evidence for these has been collated by Alick Morrison - the problem is so important that his findings and points arising from them are discussed as follows. According to Mr. Morrison tacks "were set for a period of 19 years.. We find, for example, Sir Norman MacLeod of Berneray set the tacks in Harris in 1697. In 1697 he was over 80 years of age and therefore possessed unrivalled knowledge during his time."⁴ He also states "The duration of the tack of 1657 was to last for the "dayes" of the tacksmen's life and for a further 19 years after the succession of his heir. It lasted in fact till 1697. During the "tutory" of Iain MacLeod of Contullich 1706 to 1724, there is no evidence to prove that the MacLeod tacks were in any way disturbed, and this implies that the Tutor followed the old practice that a tack should last for "one life and 19 years thereafter". New ideas reached the MacLeod Estates in 1724, when Norman 22nd Chief took over the management

The young Chief believed that a tack should last for 19 years only: this certainly would yield more frequent grassums. He clearly believed that the Tutor should have renewed the

tacks on his Estate in 1716 (i.e. 19 years after 1697). For this reason he was only prepared to allow the current leases to last for a further 11 years to 1735 and he insisted that he was due some "augmentation" or "increase in the rents".⁵

First of all, the 1657 tack set to John MacKenzie of Strond ended in 1685, as attested by the rental of that year. The only other detailed seventeenth century MacLeod tack in existence is that for Gesto in Skye, which was for life and 21 years, and was still in force in 1708.

As we do not know how usual written tacks were, the sett of 1697 would seem to be crucial, and supporting evidence highly necessary. The four pieces found are unfortunately insubstantial clues, the first being an entry in "A brief rental of ye Hairish as it was att Whitesunday 1697" - "Einsay and igh as it was sett in -96 payes 245 merks butt it is to be remembered yt ye widow yr had then a fardineland". The title suggests that this rental is post-dated, and it is in any case puzzling as to why a detailed rental does not exist for that year, as the one extant from 1698 when Ensay was set the minister in lieu of his tythes - valued at 300 merks - and this rental provides another meagre clue. Earlier seventeenth century rentals were set by John MacLeod of Dunvegan, heritable proprietor; in 1698 the rental is described "The Rental of ye Laird of Mack Leoid his pairt of the Hairish as it was sett be Sir Normand Mak Leoid to the Tennants and possessors thereof as followes, Cass not included, att Skaristay the third day of June 1698". This supports Mr. Morrison's assertion to the extent that Sir Norman was clearly in charge of the setting, and it may be significant that his name was mentioned in this rental but not in those of 1701, 1702 or 1703. The third piece of evidence is the reference to a tack given to Ean oige mcean vic innish alias Campbell in Scalpay.⁶ As the rent of Scalpay up to

and including the 1697 rental was 110 merks, and from 1698 onwards was 180 merks, it seems reasonable to assume that Scalpay's tack was given between 1697 and 1698.

A final piece of evidence is interesting, though somewhat unorthodox. A liquor bill (Account Mrs. McNeill to McLeod 1703) includes in the various items

"To Mishines and Grisernes at the sett of Watternish	02-11-0
To them at the set of Harresh of acquavitie 1 gallon	
and $\frac{1}{2}$ muchq: comes to	9-15-0
Item the sd tyme of beer 8 gallons 1 pint comes to	08-02-06
It the sd tyme of ale 4 gall comes to	02-13-4

Dated 14/7/1703 "

A good time seems to have been had by all in Harris, but the document does show that a sett was made either late in 1702 or some time early in 1703, as liquor bills generally covered periods of less than a year and this was shorter than most. Now if Sir Norman MacLeod set all the rents in 1697, why should the Tutor set more tacks in 1702-3 when Sir Normand was still alive and references to new tacks were specifically made in the 1703 rental.

All in all, it is impossible to argue with certainty either for or against a new general setting of all tacks in 1697, and the re-appearance of a rental in that year after a lapse of 12 years may only have been coincidental.⁷

It would instead seem that most holdings were set on a year-to-year basis, and that as long as a tenant was willing and reasonably able to pay the rent, he remained in the tenancy. This, at least, is the

impression that one gains from the various rentals, e.g. the "Tennants and possessors" of lands set in the 1698 rental and that of 1685, described as "The rentall of ye Hearish as it is sett be John Mac Leod of Downbegan Heritable proprieter of ye lands yrof for crop and year 1685 to ye ffollowing tennents att Rowdall 1685". It was probably only the most important holdings which received written tacks for any length of time, and reference was made to them in the rentals, e.g. Strond and Ensey, showing their exceptional nature.

At any rate, what can be said with certainty is that there is solid evidence to show that the MacLeod tacks were considerably disturbed and that far from following the 'old practice' of issuing tacks for life plus 19 years - if such had indeed been the traditional length of tack - the Tutor of MacLeod granted tacks of a much shorter length. Indeed, it is difficult to see how, in his position, he could have done otherwise. The infant Norman MacLeod might reasonably be expected to assume control of the estate at the age of 21, if not some years earlier, and might wish to rearrange tacks on which a grassum would have been paid directly relating to their length.

Tacks set by the Tutor were as follows:

<u>Tenant's Name</u>	<u>Name of Tack Holding</u>	<u>Length Of Tack in Years</u>	<u>Date Set</u>	<u>Amount of Grassums</u>
Neill MacLeod	Bellmore	5	Whit. 1708	100 merks
William MacLeod of Vaterstyne	Oiss	5	1708--1709	100 merks
Peter MacCaskill	fforsan & other lands	5	Whit. 1713	100 merks
Duncan MacSween in ffasick	Half of Roag	7	ca 1713	100 merks
William MacLeod in Eabost	Skeabost	5	1714--1715	6½ guineas
Roderick MacNeill in Dunveggen	Trumpanbeg	7	ca 1715	£ 48-0-0
fferquhar Beaton	Half of Unish	7	ca 1718	100 merks
John Beaton	Half of Unish	7	ca 1718	100 merks
John Campbell	Strond	3	1720	£ 40-0-0
Donald MacLeod of Baillmeanoch	Eabost	5	-	100 merks
Katherine Shaw, Widow	Triaslan	-	-	100 merks or £ 53-6-8
William MacLeod, younger	Ostill	(either for grassum or for diminishing casualties)		1 guinea
Marion his spouse	Ostill	-	-	2 guineas
Norman MacLeod	Ramsaig	-	-	1 guinea

Several interesting points emerge from this list, of which the first is that far more tacks were issued in this period than had previously been indicated in previous rentals or discharges. Secondly, Harris tacks of the sort in existence in Skye were few and far between, Strond being the only one mentioned; despite the death of Ean oige in Scalpay after 1703 neither of the foresters named in the 1706 discharge - Normand MacLeod and John Campbell - received a tack. Thirdly, the Skye tacks commenced at different periods, suggesting that tacksmen of these large and important holdings must have vacated their tenancies for some reason

other than a general set, and the relatively large number of them indicates an unsettled period. Fourthly, the actual length of tacks completely ignored the existence of either a nineteen year set between 1697 and 1716, since five year leases were set in 1708-9 rather than seven year ones. Another interesting point is the number of tenants who in 1724 were in different holdings from their tacks during the administration, suggesting the temporary/interim nature of the latter.

The final point which arises from Alick Morrison's discussion of the tacks is his assertion that Norman MacLeod clearly believed that the Tutor should have renewed the tacks on his estate in 1716 (i.e. 19 years after 1697). For this reason he was, apparently, only prepared to allow the current leases to last for a further 11 years to 1735 and insisted that he was due some augmentation in the rents. Yet the first part of the latter sentence is a complete anomaly in view of the fact that the Tutor had given only short-term tacks. In 1716 he granted two separate seven-years tacks to Fferqhur and John Beaton, brothers of the two halves of Unnish. Yet in 1724 (when Fferqhur had died and Donald MacLeod possessed it), a note in the 1724 'A' rental says "(It) is at present as Rory McLeod of Ullinish did sett it though not yet owned, or cleared for, by the Deponent" (Donald). At any rate, in 1720 when rumours for legal proceedings for mismanagement were apparently first mentioned, John Campbell of Strond was granted a tack of only three years. The last tacks set by the Tutor according to the 1724 rental were for a further three years from 1723 for Strond and four years from 1722 for Ensay. Thus according to all the evidence all the tacksmen in 1724, except for Luskintyre, held tacks due to expire in the near future.

A further enigma is provided by the other tenants not mentioned in the grassums list. One can only assume either that their tacks dated from before the Contullich Administration, which was most unlikely, or that they were held on a year to year basis. Taking all these factors into consideration, there does not seem to have been any reason to have prevented Norman from setting fresh tacks in 1724, so why did he allow leases to run on until 1735? The most feasible explanation which presents itself, though merely speculative, is that tenants harked back to the days of the late seventeenth century and remembered that Sir Norman had set the rental in 1698, and had also presumably done so for the previous year (this one, it must be noted, being post-dated). As there were no rentals extant for 12 years before that date, the year 1697 was decided upon for the hypothetical commencement of a nineteen year tack. In 1724 MacLeod thus gave sitting tenants an 11 year tack if they so wished at the same rent (numerous examples in the rentals) and gave new tenants a tack at the same or higher rent (examples of both in rentals).

In his efforts to discredit the Tutorship he would in this way also gain the confidence and good-will of tenants by stressing the continuity of landholding arrangements and being able to point out that estates elsewhere were setting leases of much shorter duration as the Tutor had done.

Having established that tacks were set in 1735 and 1754, and possibly also in 1697 and 1724, what effect did they have on the stability of money rents? The table shows that in 1697 there were three increases from the 1685 figures. One was probably a Factor's error, and Middle Borrow and Middletown are excluded for reasons stated on pp. 337 and 82. There were also three reductions. In 1698 there were two increases and four reductions from the 1697 level (the wadset

is excluded in both cases). In 1716-17 no appreciable effect is seen, there occurring one reduction in the former year, and two increases with South Copiphell paying no rental at all in 1717. In 1724 the four Pabbay townships were combined into one holding at a higher rent than in 1720, and there were four further increases. In the wadset lands (the rents from which were paid to William MacLeod of Luskintyre), three holdings out of eight paid higher money rents than in 1697. There were two instances of lower rents, one being Finsbay which had been absent from the rentals since 1703. In 1735 there were four or five increases (that of Drimfuint's being uncertain) and no reductions, and in 1754 the three Borrows paid a higher combined rent total and there were three further increases over the 1735 figure - together with four reductions. The increases mentioned were for the most part for very reasonable sums - there is only one example of an increase higher than 20 merks, that of Rowdil in 1697 - until 1754, and many for sums lower than 10 merks. In that year, however, increases were more dramatic; the west coast holding increased by nearly double, Scalpay by 100% and Strond by 200%, and reductions were minimal compared to these.

The number and proportional size of these increases compared with others on the table are by no means exceptional and the conclusion is therefore made that the setting of hypothetical or actual tacks until 1754 did not have an excessive effect on the stability of rents, borne out by money rent totals for those years, but in 1754 the new tacks made a profound difference, emphasising the stability of previous years.

The table also shows that there were many other examples of fluctuating rents in years in which there is no evidence to show that tacks were set. (It is a pity that yearly rents do not survive between 1724-1754 to compare fluctuations, and to put early variations into perspective).

There follows a list of movements of rent amongst Harris holdings in the hope that a comparison between holdings examined in conjunction with the subsequent analysis of possible reasons for fluctuations will show which of the holdings were most stable and which were paying an economic rent. The list is divided into three periods of available ~~rents~~ rentals (excluding 1724'B', 1746 total, and 1754'E' and proposed rentals), namely 1680-1685, 1697-1724 and 1724-1754, the middle period excluding holdings in the wadset of which the majority had the same rent in 1724 as in 1697. The maximum number of changes possible in the columns are three, 19 and three respectively.

	1680-1685	1697-1724	1724-1754
Kirktown	-	5	2
Lingay	-	3	1
Middletown	-	disappears	disappears
Northtown	-	9	1
Ensay & Eile	1	12	1
Orimfuint	-	7	2
South Copiphell	-	10	1
North Copiphell	-	4	-
South Scarsta	-	6	2
North Scarsta	-	8	2
Meikle Borrow	-	8	1
Middle Borrow	1	5	1
Little Borrow	-	6	1
Horgishost	-	-	1
Seilebost	-	-	2
Luskintyre	-	-	2
Hushinish & Scarp	-	-	3
Pablie	-	-	1
Raa	-	-	1
Eile	1	-	-
Scalpay	-	2	2
Strond	-	3	2
Finsbay	-	3	2
Roudil	-	11	1

The list shows several interesting features, notably the marked contrast between the stability of rents 1680-1685, and the exceptional fluctuations in the period roughly corresponding to the Contullich Administration: indeed it shows that in any consecutive five-year span there was considerable disturbance of the money rents. Furthermore, rents which remained stable in the three rentals of 1724-1735 and 1754, or changed only once, outnumbered those which altered twice or the maximum of three times - even taking the increases in the wadset 1697-1724 into account. This underlines an important issue in the study of rent movements according to ~~rentals~~ rentals. As the money rents due were those reasonably expected to be raised from each holding, there must have been logical causes for changes in the rentals themselves which would otherwise have remained steady, and the fluctuations would have appeared only on lists of money rents actually paid. Whatever these causes were, they did not manifest themselves in a set pattern of increases and decreases, and their effects did not apply to all holdings since according to the evidence available there was no one year in which all rents either rose or were reduced. This being so, an elimination of known causes for variations in the rents should help to bring out the contrast between holdings with stable rents and those with fluctuating rent.

The clearest example of a rent increase of administrative origin occurred in 1713, when cess and mart money were integrated with the money rents, and all rents increased except one (and those in the wadset), though the amount of increase in most cases bore little relation to the previously stated figures for the two casualties. Administrative reasons were probably also responsible for isolated variations in rent such as Strond in 1697, and Drimfuint in 1735, and the proposed rents of 1754 which never materialised.

Adverse climatic conditions were undoubtedly the greatest factor in altering rents due. The occasional bad harvest might be expected to feature more prominently in lists of rent paid and arrears, and this indeed was the case of, e.g. 1685. However during the early eighteenth century there occurred a series of unproductive harvests and their consequences were so grave that money rents due were affected.

The Factors' Accounts for 1705-6 show "forgiven Harris tenants arrears of 1596 merks for 1705 and preceding years", and a further 4667m-10-0 money rents and 2818 merks in produce rent values were also given up in rests. This state of affairs is reflected in the decrease in money rents due in 1706 and 1707. A similar phenomenon occurred in the Spring of 1716-1717; the Factor's Account for that year states "Item contained in the Tenants Hands on account of their great losses in Spring 1717 by the Murrain amongst their cattle and otherwise ... 10,761m-1-4". The Murrain occurred in Skye, but the "otherwise" also affected Harris rents in that the winter of 1716-17 was the worst in living memory; the rental for 1718 shows five reductions in rent and an overall loss of 233 merks.

Another manifestation of the results caused by the appalling economic conditions, in which inevitably some tenants were overwhelmed, was the occasional temporary reduction in the money rent due from a holding caused by undersetting or lee lands, the latter phenomenon an extreme form of the former. It was responsible for example for the reduction in Middle Borrow's 1685 rent by a half and Rowdil's rents in 1701 and 1702.

A series of fluctuations occurred between 1708 and 1712, interestingly since no mention of bad harvests is made in the Factors' Account for those years. However, there are some signs which show a situation in which

at least some people were having difficulty in paying their rents due. First of all, North Copiphell does not appear on either the 1706 rental or that of 1709; on its reappearance in 1710 the rent was adjusted accordingly, which implies that the tenancy was formerly less. Half a clittick of land in Rowdil, worth 11m-6-8 was less in 1709, and as rents in that year were 60 merks up on those of 1708, it implies that small tenants there were under hardship. These years also saw a fluctuation in the rents of Middletown and Northtown combined. Pabbay in the eighteenth century seems to have been more than usually susceptible to bad years, as evidently a difference of even 10 merks in the money rent 1708-9 was not practicable, and the rents show a steady decline from 80 merks in 1702 to 50 in 1712. North Scarsta in 1712 was also paying a lower rent than that paid between 1680 and 1703; this was one of the two holdings whose rent was increased in 1706, and it remained steady for four years - the marked fluctuation between 1710 and 1712, with an increase to 164 merks in 1713, suggests that this variation may not have been primarily due to inability to meet the rents.

However, of all the changes in money rent shown during this period those of one holding in particular, Ensay, are outstanding, both for their frequency and amounts of variation, and the discussion which follows will use it as an example of the way in which money rents could be affected by factors both economic and artificial. Variations in this instance are especially interesting in that they are very strongly connected with the career of one tenant in particular, i.e. Rorie Campbell. According to silver rent lists and Factors' Accounts, Rorie, the third son of John MacKenzie of Strond by his second wife, was Chamberlain of Harris at least between 1686-7 and 1693. Though there is no evidence from the rentals, according to Mr. Morrison he

was at some time the tacksmen of Eile in Taransay. Mr. Morrison also states that in 1724 he was tenant of Northtown in Copiphell and that "at the end of his days" he was tacksmen of Eile near Northton and part of the Island of Ensay which had fallen into his hands from the Rev. John Campbell.⁸

However the evidence is not quite as straight-forward as this suggests. After the minister's move to South Copiphell and the absence of 3d in the rental of 1702, in 1703 Finlay Morrison and his brother Niel were set the tenancy of 2d of Ensay and 1½d of the Eye. They were given reductions in rent in the first year and were also "not to pay their bolls till they take a cropt out of the ground" which argues firstly that they had no other resources on which they could depend, and secondly that there were no other established tenants to take on the holding as Finlay and Niel are otherwise unknown. They must have found conditions too difficult. We know this from an Attestation included in the 1710 Factors' Account as follows: "Item allowed of Ease by the late Laird of MacLeod to Rory Campbell then Indweller in Wist for removing from North Wist to his Lands of Eansay in Harris, then like to become weast as pr Malcolm Campbell the Chamberland his Attestation 313 marks".⁹ The Attestation mentions no date, but the move was probably made some time in 1706: the Factor's Account for 1705 includes a Discharge "of the rent of Ensay, Duart and Colbost (Skye) (the holdings of Rorie MacLeod of Ullinish), there being waste of the saids lands as much as paid of the said rent 89m-4-4". The numerous small tenants who occupied the other 2d of Ensay were hardly likely to let the land go to waste, so it must have been the 2d of Ensay set to Finlay and Niel which was "like to become weast".

A Discharge dated 13/2/1712 survives in which Rorie describes himself as Tacksman of Ensay, so that between 1706 and 1712 it would seem that he lived as tenant there. However, the 1713 Discharges states "Item to Rory MacLeod of Ensay formerly designed in Northtown his annual rents of 5100 merks from Whit 1712 to Mart. 1713 - 420m-10-0", and no mention is made of Rorie Campbell, whose annual rent had been assigned to Rorie MacLeod. From that year Rorie MacLeod is designated 'Ensay'; and as Rorie Campbell is described in the 1712 Discharge only as 'in Harries', he may not have been in Ensay at all. The next piece of evidence occurs in the 'family tree' compiled by Mr. Morrison in which he says that Rorie MacLeod, named in the Contullich Accounts as of Northtown and Ensay, was the son of John MacLeod of Contullich, and assistant Tutor. He also states "the Tutor's son Roderick, who was 'Baylie' of Harris and possessed Ensay, probably gave the Marquis of Tullibardine £ 78 in 1720 on his departure for Brittany". The conclusion is therefore reached that Rorie MacLeod, son of John MacLeod, was tenant in Ensay, and there is no supporting evidence for Rorie Campbell's presence there.

However, the holding may well have changed hands in 1720 or very soon after; John MacLeod of Contullich was ailing and died well before 1724, when increasing pressure was mounted on Rorie to justify his father's estate management and he probably withdrew to his holdings at Quart and Colbost. At any rate, in 1720 the rent of Ensay rose to the sum of 300 merks, at which figure it remained stable until 1754.

In the 1724 rental Rorie Campbell is mentioned, not as tenant of Ensay, but as being in North Copiphell; he deponed as to the rents of that holding and was described as being 'therein'. Nevertheless, he may well until, and possibly including, 1724 have been tenant of the 1 $\frac{1}{2}$ d of

the Eye, as the deposition concerning the latter holding's rent differ. Rorie MacLeod described the rents of Ensay, the Eye and Drimfuint, totalling 6½d, as 300 merks and £ 67-10-0 of teinds. However, Angus Campbell who was apparently tenant of 4d of Ensay and 1d of Drimfuint said that he paid a rent of £ 266-13-4 and 15 bolls of teind victual. Though the final judicial rental of Ensay in 1724 was the same as deponed by Rorie MacLeod the 1½d missing from Angus Campbell's tack may well have been held by Rorie Campbell.

In the light of the above events the fluctuations in Ensay's rents during the Contullich Administration are probably understandable. The increase of almost 175% between 1708 and 1709 with a further increase of 50 merks in 1710 was probably oversetting the holding, as the 1710 Factor's Account shows a farthing and half lee lands in Ensay, worth 50m-10-0, and the 1711 and 12 rents were reduced by 50 merks. Significantly in view of the fact that Rorie MacLeod took over the tenancy of Ensay in 1712-13 that holding was the only one to be reduced in 1713, and from then on the rents remained stable until 1719 except for an isolated increase of 80 merks in 1717 - again an exception to the general reduction in rents following the harsh winter of 1716-17.

It is hoped that the above survey of rent movements will have given some indication of the fundamentally elastic nature of money rents. In these circumstances, it is therefore all the more remarkable that certain holdings enjoyed a stability of rents for many years and in some cases, for much of the period.

First of all holdings whose rents were subject to considerable change were as follows :-

Ensay, Eile and Drimfuint	1680 - 1724
Rowdil	1685 - 1724
North Scarsta	1697 - 1724
South Copiphell	1698 - 1724
Meikle Borrow	1703 - 1720
(Middletown &) Northtown	1706 - 1724

This contrasts considerably with the following list, showing periods of stable money rents, (South and North Copiphell excluded):

		<u>Length in Years</u>
Pablie	1680 - 1754	74
Raa	1680 - 1754	74
Eile	1685 - 1754	69
Middle Borrow	1701 - 1753	52
Seilebost	1680 - 1724	44
Luskintyre	1680 - 1724	44
Little Borrow	1713 - 1753	40
North Scarsta	1720 - 1754	34
South Scarsta	1720 - 1754	34
Pabbay	1724 - 1754	30
Horgisbost	1724 - 1754	30
Rowdil	1724 - 1754	30
Meikle Borrow	1680 - 1703	23
Strond	1701 - 1724	23
Scalpay	1698 - 1720	22
Finsbay	1703 - 1724	21

A comparison of the two lists suggests that, firstly, holdings with a high number of variations in rent were the exception rather than the rule; there was a basic stability of rents throughout the period. Secondly, holdings which did fluctuate during the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries steadied remarkably and remained largely unaffected by the tacks of 1735 and 1754.

This point is quite important, since all holdings on the second list had the same rents for longer than the period traditionally ascribed to the length of tack, i.e. 19 years.

In this respect, too, amounts of increase in money rents due are important, in that one would expect a substantial increase in any one year to be followed by a period of stable rents or a later decrease if it was set too high. In fact, as has been shown increases were on the whole very moderate, and there are few examples of either: Scalpay in 1698 and South Copiphell in 1720 were followed by periods of unchanged rents, and Meikle Borrow in 1708 increased by 42 marks only to decrease by 60 marks the following year. These instances are exceptional, and it is an incontrovertible fact that the majority of fluctuations commenced with a deduction in money rents due, suggesting that variations were not primarily due to increases in rent.

The minimal influence of early eighteenth century tack setting on money rents is emphasised by two further pieces of evidence. Firstly, increases as shown in the table appear to have been completely arbitrary, neither according to a proportion of the previous rent, nor to valuation of the holdings, i.e. a fixed amount per pennyland. Indeed, in the 1754 rental of proposed rents the landlord, Norman MacLeod, evidently directly estimated each holding's degree of profitability. For instance, the entry for Raa reads "May be augmented £ 33-6-8", and that for Finsbay

"May be augmented to (by) 30 merks"; as for Kelp, "20 Ton Kelp may pay the Master £ 90-0-0", or £ 4-10-0 per ton, 7s.6d. sterling.

The table shows that some of the proposed increases were staggering, and again significantly, all of the massive increases were either reduced or disregarded in the final judicial rental for that year, suggesting that forces other than the landlord's desire for increased income affected the setting of rents due. Secondly, five of the six most stable holdings in terms of money rent paid were west coast holdings, and the leading three were the holdings on the island of Taransay. Yet Peblie was in all probability a joint-tenancy throughout the period and the other holdings alternated in successive rentals between single and joint tenancies. Thus the type of tenant does not have been of any importance as regards changes in the amounts of money rent due, in direct contrast with the traditional concept that holdings of tacksmen (i.e. single principal tenants) enjoyed greater stability of rents than those of joint-tenants.

A final clue to the particular relationship between rents and tacks is provided by a correlation of the 1754 proposed list of money rents and the table on p.238 showing the state of Harris money rents in 1680, 1724, 1735 and 1754. 1754 was the first year when written tacks were given to all tenants. Besides the individual tacks a summary of holdings and tenants includes this provision:- "The Tack contains a condition that if they allow the Rent to be owing for the space of twelve months the Tack shall be void and null and it shall be lawful to MacLeod to turn them brevi manu out of the Lands". This business-like emphasis on removal of tenants gives the impression that the clause was not intended to be regarded as a dead letter, and thus rents were likely to be realistic. In the 1754 list, the money rents of several holdings were left unchanged, or proposed increases subsequently modified, though all

J. Joint Tenancy S: Single Tenancy	1630			1724			1735			1754		
Places	Money Rent	Mort Money	Cess	Teynids	Money Rent	Mort Money	Cess	Teynids	Money Rent	Mort Money	Cess	Teynids
Kirktown	J 116-13-4	4-13-4 Mart.	18-13-4	17½ bolls	-	-	included	-	J 164-10-0	-	included	-
Lingay	J 40-0-0	2-13-4	5-6-8	4½ bolls	226-13-4	-	-	-	J 63-6-8	-	-	28
Middletown	J 29-6-8	2-13-4	5-6-8	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	bolls
Northtown	J 53-6-8	4-0-0 Mart.	8-0-0	6 bolls	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Ensay + Elie	J 173-6-8	2-13-4	14-13-4	19 bolls	300-0-0 (4p+1p) 266-13-4	-	-	-	S 271-3-4	-	-	67-10-0 (10 bolls + 17½)
Drumfunt	J 26-13-4	1-6-8	2-13-4	5-6-8	-	-	-	5-6-8	-	-	-	5-6-8 (102)
South Capphell	S 48-6-8	3-6-8 Mart.	6-13-4	14-0-0	138-13-4	-	-	14-0-0	S 166-13-4	-	-	14-0-0
North Capphell	S 66-13-4	8-13-4	8-0-0	16-0-0	66-13-4	10-13-4	-	16-0-0	-	16-0-0	-	16-0-0
South Scarsta	S (53-6-8)	4-0-0	8-0-0	14-0-0	J 64-0-0	-	-	16-0-0	J 69-6-8	-	-	16-0-0
North Scarsta	S 86-13-4	5-6-8	10-13-4	2-13-4	138-13-4	-	-	18-13-4	J 137-13-4	-	-	18-13-4
Meikle Barrow	S 86-13-4	1-6-8	7-6-8	14-13-4	S 60-3-4	included	-	-	-	-	-	14-13-4
Middle Barrow	J 55-6-8	3-13-4	7-6-8	12-16-8	60-3-4	-	-	13-13-4	S 202-3-4	-	-	12-13-4
Little Barrow	J 55-0-0	3-13-4	7-6-8	14-13-4	S 60-3-4	-	-	14-13-4	-	-	-	14-13-4
Hargisboast	J 48-0-0	2-10-0	6-13-4	13-6-8	50-0-0	3-6-8	5-0-0	13-6-8	J 58-6-8	-	-	13-6-8
Selleboast	S 80-0-0	2-13-4 Mart.	5-6-8	10-13-4	80-0-0	2-13-4	4-0-0	10-13-4	-	-	-	10-13-4
Luskintyre	S 53-6-8	8-13-4 Mart.	8-0-0	16-0-0	53-6-8	10-13-4	6-0-0	16-0-0	S 746-13-4	-	-	16-0-0
Hushinish, Scarp	S 186-13-4	8-13-4 Mart.	13-6-8	26-13-4	206-13-4	10-13-4	-	26-13-4	J 72-13-4	-	-	26-13-4
Pable	J 80-0-0	8-13-4 Mart.	10-13-4	21-6-8	80-0-0	10-13-4	8-0-0	21-6-8	-	-	-	21-6-8
Raa	S 66-13-4	8-13-4 Mart.	8-0-0	16-0-0	S 66-13-4	10-13-4	6-0-0	16-0-0	J 58-0-0	16-0-0	-	16-0-0
Elie	J 106-13-4	8-13-4 Mart.	10-13-4	21-6-8	S 138-6-8	10-13-4	8-0-0	21-6-8	S 141-6-8	16-0-0	-	21-6-8
Scalpay	J 73-6-8	2-13-4 Mart.	13-6-8	-	133-6-8	-	-	5-6-8	J 266-13-4	-	-	5-6-8
Strond	S 53-6-8	8-13-4 Mart.	13-6-8	28-0-0	S 46-13-4	10-13-4	10-0-0	32-0-0	S 202-13-4	-	-	32-0-0
Total	1586-0-0	45-10-0+ 9 months 78-0-0	122-10-0	47 bolls	1965-3-4	80-13-4	53-0-0	337-16-8	2053-3-4	48-0-0	-	340-3-4
Finsbay	J 16-0-0	-	1-6-8	2-0-0	13-6-8	-	-	-	S 40-0-0	-	-	-
Rowdill	J 165-6-8	-	10-13-4	21-6-8	221-6-8	included	-	21-6-8	J 221-6-8	-	-	21-6-8
Total	1767-6-8	123-10-0	200-13-4	234-3-4	2499-16-8	80-13-4	53-0-0	358-13-4	2294-10-0	48-0-0	-	363-10-0
Rent + Mort Money	1890-16-8	-	-	-	2280-10-0	-	-	-	2347-16-8	-	-	-
" + Cess	2091-10-0	-	-	-	2353-10-0	-	-	-	2347-16-8	-	-	-
" + Teynids	2375-13-4	195-16-8	2571-10-0	-	2642-3-4	14-9-8	2841-10-0	-	2643-16-8	-	-	-
									2930-10-0	-	-	-
									3294-0-0	-	-	-

conversion prices were raised. Since considerations of kinship or service do not seem to have prevented increases, - e.g. Berneray and Strond, they must presumably have been paying an economic rent: the holdings are as follows :-

Kirktown
Lingay
Northtown
Ensay, Eile and Drimfuint
Meikle Borrow
Middle Borrow
Little Borrow
Pablie
Raa
Eile

All of these holdings except Ensay and its attendant holdings of Eile and Drimfuint occur in the following categories which show long-term economic trends:

Decrease in money rents due 1680 - 1754

Lingay
Northtown
Meikle Borrow
Middle Borrow
Little Borrow
Pablie
Raa

Slight increase

Kirktown
South Scarsta
Horgisbost
Eile

These holdings were, judging from the type of tenant and amounts of rents, quite probably paying an economic rent as many of these holdings were on islands with amounts of arable land thus limited. This leaves the final, and most important, category in the context of relations between landlord and his tenants - the following holdings which paid far more in 1754 than they had done in 1680.

Increase in money rents due 1680 - 1754

Ensay, Eile and Drimfuint

North Scarsta

Seilebost, Luskintyre, Hushinish and Scarp

Scalpay

Strond

Finsbay

Rowdil

Only North Scarsta had what appears to be a gradual rise in money rent due; the others had a considerable increase in one or more years, i.e. Rowdil in 1703, Ensay in 1709, Strond in 1735 and 1754, and the west coast wadset holdings, Scalpay and Finsbay in 1754. These holdings were therefore apparently subject to economic forces which did not affect the others whose rents remained more or less stable. It cannot be a coincidence that of this group of tenancies - Finsbay and Rowdil excepted - all were traditionally the holdings of principal tenants who held, at various periods, written tacks for their lands. Furthermore, since theirs were holdings presumably capable of producing equal resources in 1680 as in 1754 the inference can be drawn that, for at least some of the period, and whatever the value of their individual holdings, these principal tenants were paying an uneconomic money rent, and were therefore

receiving their land on more favourable terms compared with the rest of the tenantry.

Money Rents per Pennyland including Cess and Mart Money, Pounds, Shillings

1680, money rent for family mecks	1685	1724	1735	1754
J 1 Scalpay	110 0 0	1 Scalpay	1 Scalpay	J 1 Scalpay
S 2 Seelabost	120 0 0	2 Scalpay	5 1/2 Ensay + Eve	S 10 Hushinish + Scalp
S 5 Hushinish + Scalp	280 0 0	6 1/2 Ensay + Eve + Drinfunt	10 Hushinish + Scalp	J 4 North Scarsta
J 5 1/2 Ensay + Eve	260 0 0	2 Seelabost	4 Eve	S 16 1/2 Ensay + Eve + Drinfunt
S 2 1/4 Muckle Borrow	130 0 0	5 4 Eve	4 North Scarsta	S 5 Strand
J 1 Drinfunt	40 0 0	4 North Scarsta	1 Drinfunt	S 4 Eve
J 4 Eve	160 0 0	3 Hushinish	3 South Copphell	J 2 + Northtown
S 2 South Copphell	72 6 8	3 South Copphell	3 Raa	J 2 1/2 Raa
S 3 North Copphell	36 3 4	5 3 Raa	3 1/4 North Copphell	S 1 1/4 The Copphells
S 3 Raa	100 0 0	2 1/2 Horfubost	4 Publie	S 8 The 3 Borrowes
S 4 North Scarsta	33 6 8	10 Kirkton	7 Kirkton	J 3 Publie
J 2 1/4 Muddle Borrow	83 0 0	3 1/4 North Copphell	3 South Scarsta	J 7 Kirkton
J 2 Luray	30 0 0	4 Publie	2 1/2 Little Borrow	J 2 1/2 Horfubost
J 2 1/4 Little Borrow	82 6 8	S 2 1/4 Muckle Borrow	5 1/2 Muckle + Mittle Borrow	J 1 3 South Scarsta
J 4 Publie	30 0 0	2 1/4 Muckle Borrow	2 1/2 Horfubost	Average of the rents per pennyland of each holding
J 2 1/2 Horfubost	28 10 8	S 2 1/4 Little Borrow	5 Strand	Average rent per pennyland
S 3 South Scarsta	80 0 0	J 3 South Scarsta	5 1/2 Muckle + Mittle Borrow	Average rent per pennyland
S 3 Lushuntre	26 8 11	3 Lushuntre	Average of the rents per pennyland of each holding	Average rent per pennyland
J 7 Kirkton	175 0 0	S 5 Strand	Average of the rents per pennyland of each holding	Average rent per pennyland
J 3 Northtown	25 0 0	Average of the rents per pennyland of each holding	Average rent per pennyland	Average rent per pennyland
J 2 Middelton	80 0 0	J 2 Middelton	Average rent per pennyland	Average rent per pennyland
S 5 Strand	22 0 0	J 7 Kirkton	Average rent per pennyland	Average rent per pennyland
Average of the rents per pennyland of each holding	16 0 0	S 5 Strand	Average rent per pennyland	Average rent per pennyland
Average rent per pennyland	37 8 5	Average of the rents per pennyland of each holding	Average rent per pennyland	Average rent per pennyland
Average rent per pennyland	35 0 1	Average rent per pennyland	Average rent per pennyland	Average rent per pennyland
Average rent per pennyland	111 10 4	Average rent per pennyland	Average rent per pennyland	Average rent per pennyland

Fewer excepted
Roundly

LAND VALUATIONS AND MONEY RENTS.

The same years as those chosen for the study of rents at different stages during the period were used for a comparison of money rents paid by holdings per pennyland of their respective valuations. The table on the previous page was drawn up with two principal objects in mind, of which the first was to see if amounts of money rent due from holdings still depended to any degree on their valuation. The second aim was that of discovering whether principal tenants paid lower than average rent-valuation rates as has been traditionally thought.

Early Gordon and Grant rentals show that according to early land valuations, land valued at 7d paid exactly seven times the rent of a pennyland. Sixteenth and early seventeenth century MacLeod documents indicate, however, that by then the actual number of pennylands of an area was no longer an exact measure of its productivity as assessed for the purposes of, e.g. life rents. One would therefore expect differences in the money rent/valuation rate to appear in the rentals, and they do indeed occur. However, the rentals also show that there were still very strong connections between holdings' land valuations and the rents due from them.

A first indication of the continuing relevance of land valuations was their essential stability. Secondly, during the period rents paid by individual tenants of joint holdings ^{where} was based almost without exception on the proportional value of their tenancies. Sub-divisions of pennylands 1680-1703 also show a definite relationship with amounts of money rent paid, e.g. Rowdil, Pabbay and Ensay. It thus appears that pennylands were still used as a guide in determining the rents within each holding; what of holdings themselves? A comparison

with the money rent in order of valuation according to the 1680 rental is as follows.

	<u>pennylands</u>	<u>merks</u>
Kirktown	7	175-0-0
Ensay & Eile	5½	260-0-0 (the 1½d of Eile was in 1702 rented at 60 merks)
Hushinish & Scarp	5	280-0-0
Strond	5	80-0-0
Eile	4	160-0-0
North Scarsta	4	130-0-0
Pablie	4	120-0-0
North Copiphell	3	100-0-0
Rae	3	100-0-0
South Scarsta	3	80-0-0
Luskintyre	3	80-0-0
Meikle Borrow	2¾	130-0-0
Middle Borrow	3¾	83-0-0
Little Borrow	2¾	82-6-8
Horgisbost	2½	72-0-0
Seilebost	2	120-0-0
South Copiphell	2	72-6-8
Lingay	2	60-0-0
Middletown	2	44-0-0
Scalpay	1	110-0-0
Drimfuint	1	40-0-0

This list shows that rents on the whole corresponded with the valuation of holdings, i.e. the majority valued at 4d paid more rent than holdings with values of 2d or 3d. It also shows several exceptions, and the anomaly that holdings of the same valuation sometimes paid widely varied rents, reflected in the first two columns of the table in which the highest and lowest rates of money rent per pennyland differed by

94 marks and, inclusive of cess and mart money, by £ 60-18-8. General reasons for these differences can, for the sake of convenience, be classified as either agricultural or 'artificial'. Some farms through the intervening centuries would become more profitable to work than others, e.g. Luskintyre has the reputation of possessing the easiest to work soil in Harris, and Strond and Rowdil according to the Old Statistical Account were sited on the best soils. Pabbay was once "the granary of Harris", a description which it no longer seemed to merit in the late seventeenth century. Another factor was similarity of land valuation and agricultural conditions of the south west coast holdings, valued between 2d and 4d, with most of the eight holdings either 2½d or 3d. One would also expect the larger holdings to have possessed more scope for development through the ages. On the other hand, it is reasonable to expect those affected by sand-drift and other adverse factors in the late seventeenth century to have suffered similar hazards in previous centuries.

'Artificial' reasons for differences in the rates of money rents paid according to valuation are thus in this context of vital importance. Possible forms they could take could be other types of rent to the landlord which he was prepared to offset against the economic rent of a holding, e.g. that of service. Other reasons could be deductions in charity, or simply some sort of private agreement or transaction between landlord and tenant based, for example, on kinship or friendship. In this respect the type of holding, either single or joint, with lower than normal rates is therefore crucial, together with any information about their tenants and, especially, the relative positions of their holdings at the different dates shown.

The first column in the table indicates the money rent paid per pennyland taken from the 1680 rental without the addition of either cess or mart money, and shows several interesting features. Immediately apparent is the incidence of rents paid to the nearest round figure - only two of the 22 holdings paid a rent which included a half-merk, and 16 paid a multiple of ten merks. Eleven holdings had a rate per pennyland which was a 'round figure', but individual amounts varied widely. However, in this column there are several groups of holdings which paid the same rate per pennyland, though varied in valuation, e.g. two @ 26m-8-11, three @ 30m-0-0, two @ 33m-6-8, two @ 40m-0-0 and two @ 47m-3-8. This could, like the uniformity of the 'round figures' in the rents, indicate remnants of a former method of valuation, though the graduation of rates is fairly widespread. Apart from Strond there were 10 holdings paying between 21 and 31 merks, and six between 32 and 41, so that the table shows that the majority of rents paid per pennyland were within fairly close limits.

Of the money rents (including cess and mart money) paid per pennyland of valuation in 1680, Strond, one of the largest holdings, had the lowest rate and Kirktown, the largest, the second lowest. Yet the two other very large holdings, i.e. over 5d were amongst the four highest rates, and the different valuations were intermingled in order of money rents paid, showing the varied nature of money rents in holdings of the same level of valuation. The rates vary widely, with what appear to be several distinct blocks of holdings. Firstly, exactly half had a money rent of between 20 and 30 pounds Scots per pennyland, with three slightly (i.e. less than 5 merks) lower and three slightly higher than this range. This leaves five holdings with well above-average rents; of these four paid a rent up to 15 merks above the ordinary and one, Scalpay, had an extraordinarily high rent for its pennyland. Of the holdings paying

above-average rates, the majority were single tenancies while there was a large number of joint-tenancies amongst holdings paying a comparatively low rate - of the lower half of the 22 holdings, eight of the 11 were occupied by joint-tenants. This makes the three other single tenants of some significance; Strond, the lowest rate, was occupied by the possessor of a written tack; South Scarsta was 'in the laird's hands', and Luskintyre was occupied by a woman tenant whose background is curious, (p.256). The highest rates, on the other hand, were also paid by principal tenants. Scalpay was the holding of the forester of Harris, Ensay and Eile were occupied by the minister plus several small tenants, and Hushinish and Scarp by Sir Norman MacLeod of Berneray. The other single tenants all paid above-average rates except for Finlay Campbell in North Scarsta, the Chamberlain of Harris. The emphasis on the rate per pennyland appears to have been between £ 21 and £ 31 with 13 of the 22 holdings appearing in this category.

In 1724 Strond's rate had fallen to eight pounds Scots lower than the next holding, that of Luskintyre. The other holdings appear to have been in two blocks of nine between £ 21 and £ 25, and seven between £ 31 - £ 53, with Scalpay at £ 133-6-8. Though the majority of holdings paid approximately (\pm five marks) the same rate as in 1680 marked increases occurred in Scalpay and North Scarsta and reductions in North Copiphell and Meikle Borrow. North Copiphell was in 1724 the tenancy, though probably not the sole tenancy, of Rorie Campbell, the former Chamberlain of Harris, and Mr. Aulay McAulay, Minister of Harris, was the single tenant of Meikle Borrow. There is unfortunately no clear indication of the type of tenant in either Scalpay or North Scarsta, but the latter holding was no longer tenanted by the Chamberlain of Harris. The gap between Scalpay's rate and that paid by the other Harris holdings widened to £ 80-0-0, but the rate, that of £ 133-6-8 for the pennyland,

remained the same in 1735 and the gap closed slightly as Ensay's rate in that year rose by over £ 20. Though Strond's rent paid per pennyland was again well behind the others, the lowest rate was now paid by Lingay and Northtown which according to contemporary Factors' Accounts were experiencing difficult agricultural conditions. Seilebost, Luskintyre, Hushinish and Scarp, amalgamated into one holding, paid the same combined rate as the former separate averages. The order of the other holdings was similar to that of 1724; no tenants' names are available. Most rates still lay between 21 - 38 pounds Scots with eight between £21-0-0 and £ 28-0-0, and five between £ 31-0-0 and £ 39-0-0.

In 1754 there were several very marked changes in the money rents paid per pennyland. Strond's rate increased threefold, Scalpay's doubled, and the west coast holdings paid a rate almost as much again as in 1735. Lingay, Middletown and Northtown's rate rose by almost £ 20; continuing difficulties may have been the reason for a change in valuation from 5d to 2d. The only marked reduction in rate occurred in Ensay, Eile and Brimfuit - from rates of 5½d at £ 66-13-4 per pennyland, and 1d at £ 33-6-8 per pennyland, the combined rate was £ 41-14-4 for the 6½d. The four lowest holdings were now occupied by joint tenants, and the majority of single tenants occupied holdings in the upper half of the table. Yet still a majority of holdings paid between 23 and 31 pounds Scots, i.e. eight out of 14, and these eight holdings included three combined holdings, making a total of 13 holdings in all paying a rate of money rent per pennyland substantially similar to that paid in 1680.

Of these holdings some paid low rates throughout the period, e.g. Pabbay, Kirktown, Lingay, Middletown and Northtown in Pabbay (joint

tenancies (1680-1754), Horgisbost (joint tenancy 1680-1754) and South Scarsta (single tenancy 1680, and joint in 1724 and 1754). Some holdings maintained a similar rate throughout the period, e.g. Pablie (joint tenancy), Raa (single in 1680 and 1724, and joint in 1754), Middle Borrow and Little Borrow (joint tenancies 1680, Little Borrow single tenancy 1724, both combined into one single holding with Meikle Borrow in 1754). The greatest increases between 1680 and 1754 occurred in Scalpay (joint tenancy with one tenant in Scalpay and one in Maravig), the west coast holdings (mostly single tenancies) and Strond (single tenant throughout the period). All the latter holdings were occupied by principal tenants. The rates of some holdings changed between 1680, 1724 and 1754 with types of tenant, e.g. Little Borrow, 1680-1724 (reduction in rent/valuation rate with change from joint to single tenancy), Eile 1680-1724 (increase from joint to single tenancy), South Scarsta (slight reduction from single to joint tenancy), and Raa 1724-1754, an increase from single to joint tenancy. There seems thus no marked trend either way in changes between different types of tenant wit in the same holding.

One fact to emerge from the table, however, is that single tenants tended to pay higher rates for their holdings than joint tenants throughout the period. Another is that most principal tenants paid high rates, but with amalgamation of holdings they could well have afforded to pay them - joint tenancies with low valuations, e.g. Kirktown and Horgisbost were, by the mid-eighteenth century having some difficulty in paying their rents.

Variations in rent due, silver rent paid and arrears, individual tenants in Harris 1679-1698

Finsbury South Scarsla omitted

J = Joint tenant S = Single tenant	Silver Rents 1679	Rental 1680	Silver Rents 1683	Rental 1684	Silver Rents 1687	Rental 1688	Silver Rents 1689	Rental 1690	Silver Rents 1691	Rental 1692	Silver Rents 1693	Rental 1694
Kirkcubbin	merks	7 6 8	12 0 0	5 0 0	7 6 8	7 10 4	7 6 8	7 10 4	7 0 0	- 9 0	10 0 0	7 6 8
Finlay me Eon vic Finlay	Pounds Scots	5 0 0	8 0 0	3 6 8	5 0 0	5 3 8	5 0 0	5 3 8	4 13 4	- 9 0	6 13 4	5 0 0
Lingay	- - -	11 3 4	- - -	11 3 4	11 3 4	2 6 8	11 3 4	3 3 4	1 6 8	6 6 8	15 0 0	- - -
Ernie Macleachlan vic Ernie	- - -	7 10 0	- - -	7 10 0	7 10 0	1 13 4	7 10 0	2 3 4	1 0 0	4 6 8	15 6 8	- - -
Middletown	- - -	- - -	11 0 0	- - -	14 9 0	- - -	14 9 0	- 9 2	1 3 8	8 0 0	15 2 4	- - -
Kenneth me Macleachlan vic Kenneth	- - -	- - -	7 6 8	- - -	9 15 8	- - -	9 15 8	- 9 2	- 17 0	5 6 8	10 2 4	- - -
Northtown	2 0 8	11 3 4	33 10 0	11 5 4	26 9 0	4 3 0	26 9 0	3 12 0	22 0 0	13 10 0	22 0 0	40 0 0
Murdo McNeill vic Murdo	1 7 4	7 10 0	22 10 0	7 12 0	17 15 8	2 16 4	17 15 8	2 12 0	14 13 4	9 3 4	14 13 4	26 13 4
Ernie me vic Ernie	- - -	11 3 4	6 9 6	- 10 2	7 6 8	- 10 2	7 6 8	1 10 2	8 6 8	8 0 0	- - -	7 6 8
Donald me vic Donald	- - -	7 10 0	4 9 6	- 10 2	5 0 0	- 10 2	5 0 0	1 3 6	5 13 4	5 6 8	- - -	5 0 0
Donald me vic Donald	- - -	- - -	10 0 0	6 6 8	10 0 0	7 8 4	15 0 0	12 8 4	- - -	13 0 0	- - -	- - -
Donald me vic Donald	- - -	- - -	6 13 4	4 6 8	6 13 4	5 1 8	10 0 0	8 8 4	- - -	8 13 4	- - -	- - -
Santa Catharine vic Santa Catharine	42 0 0	72 6 8	65 10 8	78 0 0	72 6 8	113 6 8	72 6 8	156 0 0	80 0 0	91 0 0	- - -	72 6 8
North Campbell	28 0 0	48 6 8	43 17 4	52 0 0	48 6 8	75 13 4	48 6 8	104 0 0	53 6 8	60 13 4	- - -	48 6 8
North Campbell	47 0 0	100 0 0	- - -	120 0 0	100 0 0	286 0 0	100 0 0	226 0 0	- - -	83 0 0	- - -	100 0 0
Norman me vic Norman	3 1 6 8	66 13 4	- - -	80 0 0	66 13 4	190 13 4	66 13 4	150 13 4	- - -	55 6 8	- - -	66 13 4
North Scarsla	- - -	130 0 0	130 0 0	- - -	130 0 0	- - -	130 0 0	75 6 8	- - -	- - -	- - -	- - -
Land his widow	- - -	86 13 4	86 13 4	- - -	86 13 4	- - -	86 13 4	50 6 8	- - -	- - -	- - -	- - -
Meikle Barron	- - -	130 0 0	130 0 0	- - -	130 0 0	61 0 0	130 0 0	90 0 0	68 5 0	86 2 0	- - -	65 0 0
Angus me vic Angus	- - -	86 13 4	86 13 4	- - -	86 13 4	40 13 4	86 13 4	60 0 0	45 11 8	57 8 8	- - -	43 6 8
Middle's Barron	- - -	53 6 8	55 0 0	8 6 8	41 3 3	30 3 4	41 3 4	42 6 8	12 9 0	44 0 0	- - -	- - -
allister me vic allister	- - -	35 13 4	36 13 4	5 13 4	27 9 11	20 3 4	27 10 0	28 6 8	8 9 0	44 0 0	- - -	- - -
Little Barron	- - -	22 6 8	30 0 0	- - -	30 0 0	- - -	30 0 0	- - -	34 0 0	34 0 0	- - -	- - -
Donald me vic Donald	- - -	15 0 0	20 0 0	- - -	20 0 0	- - -	20 0 0	- - -	22 13 4	22 13 4	- - -	- - -
Horseshoe	- - -	30 0 0	21 6 8	9 6 8	15 0 0	16 6 8	15 0 0	17 6 8	6 6 8	9 6 8	20 0 0	- - -
Kenneth me vic Kenneth	- - -	20 0 0	14 6 8	6 6 8	10 0 0	11 0 0	10 0 0	11 13 4	4 6 8	6 6 8	13 6 8	- - -
Sail boat	- - -	120 0 0	120 0 0	- - -	120 0 0	61 0 0	120 0 0	75 6 8	- - -	172 0 0	100 0 0	- - -
James me vic James	- - -	80 0 0	80 0 0	- - -	80 0 0	40 13 4	80 0 0	50 6 8	- - -	114 13 4	66 13 4	- - -
Luckington	- - -	80 0 0	53 4 4	- - -	80 0 0	61 4 4	80 0 0	11 11 4	51 11 4	26 0 0	- - -	- - -
Nine vic vic Nine	- - -	53 6 8	35 11 0	- - -	53 6 8	40 17 8	53 6 8	7 18 0	34 11 4	17 6 8	- - -	- - -
John me vic John	280 0 0	280 0 0	160 0 0	- - -	280 - -	- - -	280 - -	160 0 0	- - -	160 0 0	160 0 0	- - -
Sir Norman me vic Sir Norman	186 13 4	186 13 4	106 13 4	- - -	186 13 4	- - -	186 13 4	106 13 4	- - -	106 13 4	106 13 4	- - -
Patric me vic Patric	- - -	60 0 0	60 0 0	- - -	60 0 0	10 4 4	60 0 0	22 4 4	72 3 4	71 0 0	56 0 0	- - -
Angus me vic Angus	- - -	40 0 0	40 0 0	- - -	40 0 0	6 17 8	40 0 0	14 17 8	4 8 3 4	47 6 8	37 6 8	- - -
Rae me vic Rae	- - -	100 - -	100 - -	8 8 8	100 - -	29 8 8	100 - -	80 - -	188 0 0	43 6 8	118 6 8	- - -
Donald me vic Donald	- - -	66 13 4	66 13 4	5 15 4	66 13 4	19 5 4	66 13 4	53 6 8	125 6 8	29 0 0	79 0 0	- - -
Ernie me vic Ernie	- - -	80 - -	66 0 0	14 0 0	80 0 0	34 0 0	200 0 0	24 0 0	131 4 8	140 5 4	166 3 4	- - -
William me vic William	- - -	53 6 8	44 0 0	9 6 8	53 6 8	22 13 4	136 6 8	16 0 0	87 11 4	93 12 0	110 16 8	- - -
Scallop	40 0 0	40 0 0	48 0 0	38 8 8	86 8 8	51 13 0	86 8 8	65 8 4	112 0 0	86 4 6	60 0 0	180 0 0
Ernie me vic Ernie	26 13 4	26 13 4	32 0 0	25 15 4	57 15 4	34 13 0	57 15 4	43 15 0	74 13 4	57 11 2	40 0 0	120 0 0
Strand	- - -	80 0 0	130 0 0	- - -	80 0 0	- - -	80 0 0	Ernie me	- - -	- - -	- - -	170 0 0
John me vic John	- - -	53 6 8	86 13 4	- - -	53 6 8	- - -	53 6 8	- - -	- - -	- - -	- - -	16 13 4
Rowd me vic Rowd	- - -	10 0 0	16 0 0	2 0 0	10 0 0	15 0 0	10 0 0	7 0 0	4 0 0	- - -	4 0 0	- - -
Ernie me vic Ernie	- - -	6 3 4	10 13 4	1 6 8	6 13 4	10 0 0	6 13 4	4 13 4	2 13 4	- - -	2 13 4	- - -

INDIVIDUAL TENANTS IN LATE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY HARRIS.

A most perplexing, but satisfying, table appears on p.250 showing the rents due and paid of individual tenants in Harris between 1680 and 1698, in a survey to show the standards of living experienced by a group of tenants representing all classes of the social hierarchy. The choice of such tenants was dictated by the number of times they appeared in the various lists; in most cases the choice was self-evident. An approximately equal number of single and joint tenants would have been ideal, but the table only reflects the preponderance of joint-holdings. However, a wide range of tenants is shown, from the 5d held by Sir Norman MacLeod of Berneray in South Copiphell to the clittick held by rorie mcqueine in Rowdil.

Pabbay.

In the village of Kirktown Finlay mc ean vic finlay was the holder of a farthingland, one of six who held that amount in 1680. The rent of 7m-6-8 was unchanged between 1680 and 1698 but his payments fluctuated a good deal, sums higher than the rent (e.g. silver rents in 1683 and 1688) probably including old rents. The fact that his arrears in 1684 and 1685, slightly more than the rent, were the same amount is proof that arrears were allowed to run on for more than one year. A payment of 12 merks in 1683 shows that given reasonable conditions he could fulfil his rents due, and it may be for this reason that he was given a halfpenny in 1703.

Tenants in the other townships were members of old established families. Ewine mc illechalum glase and his brother Kenneth were tenants in Lingay and Middletown respectively, and both seem to have experienced little

difficulty in paying their rents. Ewine held a farthing and a half until 1688 when he moved to Northtown. There may have been an administrative reason for his apparent failure to pay any rent at all in 1683; it was nearly all paid off by the following year, though his move to the adjacent holding may have been connected with smaller than usual payments in 1686 and 1687 - in Pabbay one must always consider the possibility of land wastage following storms and sand-drift.

Kenneth mc illechallum glase was tenant of a third of the 2d of Middletown with his father and brother in the other two-thirds, and he also had to move to Northtown in 1698 when Middletown was overwhelmed by sand. He had no arrears in 1683 and 1684, and only 9s.2d. in 1685, but he too paid smaller than usual sums in 1686 and 1687, offset by an extra high payment in 1688.

Murdo mc neill vic conill vic ean was a member of another prominent family in Pabbay. In Kirktown he was tenant of $1\frac{1}{2}$ farthings but moved in 1683 to a pennyland of Northtown at a much increased rent, a substantial portion though not all of which was paid every year. By 1698 he was tenant of a half of Northtown, i.e. $1\frac{1}{2}$ d and in 1701 and 1702 he held the same amount of land in Kirktown. Though in 1703 his holding is shown as a pennyland, his fortune would appear to have risen steadily from $1\frac{1}{2}$ farthings to $1\frac{1}{2}$ d, suggesting that he, at least, was capable of "bettering himself". Indeed, the overall impression of Pabbay holdings is one of their stability and prosperity.

Donald mc ean vic urchie vic caskill in Ensay epitomises the stability shown in the rentals amongst the small tenantry. In 1680 he held three clitticks, but in 1684 and subsequently was tenant of a half farthing-land. His arrears are interesting. In 1683 his silver rent paid plus the arrears for that year equalled 7m-6-4 or 4d less than the 1684 rent,

so that in all probability he held a half farthing in 1683. The 10s.2d. arrears of 1683 ran on in 1684, and were increased by a merk in 1685. He paid one merk more than his rent in 1686 and half a merk extra in 1687, gradually paying off his debt. The amounts paid do not therefore indicate particular hardship, and Donald was still tenant of his half-farthing in 1702 and 1703.

In Drimfuint Donald mc illespick was a joint tenant of a farthingland in the 1684 rental and $1\frac{1}{2}$ farthinglands in 1685. In spite of paying a sum equal to the 1684 rent in 1683 he still owed $6\frac{1}{2}$ merks. When his rent increased, his arrears also rose by the same amount, and he is not listed as paying any rent at all in 1686 and 1688, though he did pay 13 merks of the 15 merks he was owing in 1687. He would thus seem to have met some difficulty in paying his rents, yet was obviously considered a 'good risk', or would not have been given the extra land.

Ean mc allister awinich and Normand mc allister his brother, single tenants of South and North Copiphell respectively, were members of a prominent Macleod family which originated from Skye. Arrears of their $2\frac{1}{2}$ ds and $3\frac{1}{2}$ ds were quite substantial but may have been for items over and above their rents, as there occurs in the 1685 list of rests the item:

"Normand Mc allister 306-0-0

rests being payed for his 10 oared boat 226-0-0 "

Norman's rent was higher than Ean's and his proportion of rests was also higher, e.g. he apparently paid little rent in 1683 and none at all in 1686 and 1688. Otherwise, however, a comparison of the brothers' rents and arrears shows remarkably similar trends. Both owed more than their rents in 1683, though Ean had already paid a sum approximating to

his rent, and in 1684 their arrears had increased. By 1685 rests were more than twice their rents and Ian again paid more than his rent in 1686 and 1688. By 1698 Normand mc ean vic allister, Ian's son, had taken over his father's holding but there is no mention of him after that year. Normand mc allister remained in North Copiphell until 1703. It would thus seem that these large tenants were unable to meet their rent commitments in most years, but in spite of this they enjoyed stability of tenure.

South Scarsta has been omitted from the list because there is no evidence for its inhabitants until 1698. In 1680 it was designated "for the Laird his use", and it is interesting to note that until 1703 the adjacent single holding of North Scarsta appears to have been tenanted by MacLeod's Chamberlain in Harris. Until 1684 the position was held by Finlay mc finlay, who seems to have paid his rents of a 4d regularly and with ease - there are no rests at all. However in 1684 Finlay apparently died and a period of instability followed, the holding not being mentioned in either 1686 or 1687 and the two Scarstas combined into one tenancy in 1688.

Angus mc illespick in Meikle Borrow was single tenant of the 2 $\frac{3}{4}$ d from 1680-1701, except for 1698 when he was joined by his son donald who took over the tenancy with his older brother Murdo and his mother on Angus' death. His substantial rent was also fully paid though not without some difficulty in the later 1680's. In 1680 and 1683 he paid the full amount of his rent and he also managed to pay off his arrears in 1684 and 1685, the latter rests being three-quarters of his rent. Amounts paid were then only half to three-quarters of the rent due, but the impression remains of a secure, well-established tenant.

Allister mc illehallum oig in Middle Borrow seems to have been another tenant who found it increasingly hard to pay his full rent on time. In 1680 he was joint tenant of Finsbay as well as half of Middle Borrow which accounts for the reduction in his rent due in 1684. Despite this, or possibly connected with the loss of the extra land, is the rest of 30 merks in 1684 which increased to 42 merks (reduced from 50) in 1685. In 1686 he paid only a third of his rents, but his last recorded payment was slightly more than the rent due, showing that he was at least capable of meeting his rent quota. It is an interesting fact that in 1685 he was the sole tenant of the holding, though still only occupying 2 $\frac{3}{4}$ farthings, and the other half was not set.

The tenure of Donald the smith in Little Borrow is rather unusual. He held three clitticks in 1680, but from the amount of silver rent paid it appears that he held 1d in 1683 as well as in 1684 and 1685. He is one of the very few tenants who incurred no arrears, and his payments in 1686 and 1687 more than cover the rent. However, there is no rent payment recorded for 1688, and no further reference to a smith until 1701, and 'the old smith and his son' in South Scarsta. The old smith may well have been Donald, which makes the contrast of the relative economic positions all the more interesting.

According to the rentals he and his son held 3d between them, of which he held 1d and his son 2d; his 1d paid 26m-9-0 of the 80 merks rent. But whereas the smith in the 1680's had been well able to pay his 30 merks rent of Little Borrow, he was in the early eighteenth century impecunious, as attested by a reduction in rent following a 'flitting' and poverty. This alteration in circumstances is unexpected as according to tradition one would have expected the position of smith to have been a fairly stable one.

Kenneth mc innish vic coill vic conchie in Horgisbost was tenant of 1d in 1680 and ½d in 1684 and 1685. His silver rents paid and owing in 1683 total one merk more than the money rent due in 1680, but from 1684 onwards he appears to have had a lean spell and he owed more than the rent in both 1684 and 1685. In the two following years he paid only small sums, offset by a payment of 20 merks in 1688. It therefore seems that he was not really capable of paying his full rents, but on the other hand, he was by no means poverty-stricken.

As neither was the sole tenant of the 2d of Seilebost; Angus MacKenzie alias Campbell managed to pay his rents for most years by the following Whitsunday, e.g. in 1684 and 1685 when portions of his rents were written in the lists of rests but were then crossed out. For some reason he paid no rent in 1686, but in the following year paid 172 merks - a very substantial sum, indicating considerable assets, and the amount was not an isolated one as seen from his payment of 100 merks in 1688.

The widow Nine vic phersone in Luskintyre seems to have been a well-established tenant, but her position as regards her tenure of the holding is intriguing. In the 1680, 1684 and 1685 rentals she is shown as being the sole tenant, yet in the 1683 silver rent list 53m-4-4 was paid by her and 39m-0-0 by finlay mc ean vic innish alias Campbell. In the 1683 rest she owed nothing, but finlay owed 26m-9-0 (paid later), 30m-9-8 in 1684 and 61m-4-8 in 1685. The amount of 61m-4-4 in Nine vic phersone's rest for 1684 is coincidental with both the 4-4 paid in silver rent in 1683 and the 61m-4-8 owed by finlay in 1685, which may have been a reason for its being scored through later. However, her rests in 1685 were 22m-4-4 reduced to 11m-4-4 (probably the figure was confused with that of Pablie), and she paid 51m-11-4 in 1686, evidently half her rent plus the arrears. 1687 and 1688 lists show payments of

only 26 merks and nothing at all. A final enigma is the fact that in years when both tenants were shown the combined sums were higher than the rent due from the holding. Furthermore, Seilebost (rated at 2d) had a higher rent due than Luskintyre, which at 3d is now reckoned to be the easiest farm to work in the whole of Harris. One wonders if Nine vic phersone was either the widow of a prominent tenant, justifying the lower rent, or whether she was the member of a notable family since the absence of 'mc' usually indicated a well-known ancestry.

Hushinish and Scarp were tenanted as a single holding by Sir Norman Macleod of Berneray. The rents due and paid in this holding are especially interesting. The 1679 list of silver rent rests states "rest be the Chamberland for Sir Normand: of ye year eighty nienty 1690 : the summe eighty scoire marks Sir Normand rests the wholl dutie of crope and year 1680 beinge the summe of 280 - - ". The '1690' could be an indication that the 400 merks were still unpaid by that year. The rent for the holding in 1680, 1684 and 1685 was clearly 280 merks; it is thus all the more puzzling why Sir Norman only ever apparently paid 160 merks (1683 silver rent 1687 and 1688; he paid nothing in 1686). Yet he also owed 160 merks in the 1685 silver rest, and nothing in either the 1683 silver rent rests or 1684. Possible explanations could either be administrative oversights (cf the alterations to 1690 and the 1685 silver rent rests), or that Sir Norman thought the holding worth only 160 merks - which leaves the fact that there were no rests in 1683 and 1684.

Angus mc illechallum oige was one of two joint-tenants of the 4d of Pablie in Taransay. He had no arrears of his 60 merks rent in 1679 or 1683, but rested 10m-4-4 in 1684 and 22m-4-4 in 1685. He paid 12m-3-4 extra in 1686 and 11 merks extra in 1687, a total of 23m-3-4, but paid

only 56 merks in 1688. He seems therefore to have been a tenant in quite comfortable circumstances, whose arrears for comparatively minor amounts were fully paid off.

The 3d holding of Rea was held by Donald mac Kenzie, alias Campbell. His rests also show clearly that the MacLeod landlord allowed rests to accumulate from year to year. Despite payment of his full rent in 1683 he still owed 8m-8-8 which increased to 29m-8-8 in 1684 and 88m-8-8 in 1685. These arrears were reduced to 80 merks - "his plaid being allowed" - and he then paid in 1686 the considerable sum of 188 merks, or eight merks more than his rent plus the arrears. His silver rent payments for 1687 and 1688 fluctuated between 43m-6-8 and 118m-6-8, showing that while this tenant was capable of paying substantially more than his rent, he did not possess sufficient resources to enable him to pay his full rent every year.

William Morisone and his brother were tenants of the 4d of Eile in Taransay. William held 2d in 1680 and 1684, but by 1685 held the whole 4d. His silver rent and rests in 1683 totalled the 1680/4 rents due; in 1684 he still owed 34 merks of his 80 merks rent, so circumstances must have altered in that year to enable him to take on a yearly rental of 200 merks in 1685, and to have rests of only 24 merks. At any rate, his sums paid in 1686-8 nowhere approach the rent due, though the amounts paid did increase yearly, the highest being 166m-13-4 in 1688. Furthermore, William re-appears in Taransay in 1701, so it would seem that this tenant was well established in the island.

The holding of Scalpay between 1680 -1754 was tenanted by the forester of Harris and in the early part of the period the position was held by Ean oige mc ean vic innish alias Campbell. In 1680 he was tenant of

Maravig at a rent of 40 merks and apparently owed this amount for the previous year, but his silver rent and rests in 1683 totalled 86m-8-8 equalling his 1684 rent of 'the three parts of Scalpa and Marriage', excluding a third part of the Island of Scalpay. He owed 51m-13-0 in 1684 which increased to 65m-8-4 in 1685, but managed to pay 112 merks in 1686 to reduce his arrears by about 25 merks. 14s-2d less than the rent was paid in 1687, and only 60 merks in 1688. Yet either in 1697 or 1698 (see p.221) Ean oige received a new tack as single tenant of the holding which was assessed at 180 merks money rent 'allenarly' rather than the 110merks which it had been in 1684, 1685 and 1697. (He also had to pay entry money). A comparison of his rents and arrears with those of other tenants shows him to have been no more than reasonably prosperous, and in the 1680's he was a joint tenant with donald mc urchie voire in Scalpay. The tack could indicate that he was quite young in 1680 (cf Eain 'oige') but one would have expected the position of forester, which must have been quite arduous, to have been occupied by a youngish man. At any rate, an item in the 1705 Factor's Account states "Item wrongously charged in 280 merks given up as resting by the deceast John Campbell in Scalpay and accumulate in the List of Rests given up by Sir Normand Macleod, my father, and charged upon me in my last stated Accompt, the said Sum being paid as appears by the attested double of John Campbell's discharge". Ean oige must therefore have died some time between 1703, when he was still shown as tenant of Scalpay, and 1704. The 280 merks mentioned probably consisted of a year's money rent plus the 100 merks that he was resting of his entry money in 1701 - a further indication that he did not possess reserves of cash sufficient to pay his grassum all at once.

John MacKenzie in the 5d of Strond was second son to the John MacKenzie who was given the tack of the holding in 1657. In the tack the money rent was stated to be 80 merks, which it remained until the ending of

the tack of his father's lifetime plus 19 years in 1685 and John is thereafter heard of no more. Until that date he had no arrears at all, and indeed paid 70 merks over and above his rent in the 1683 silver rent list. This makes it all the more perplexing that the tenants in 1698-1703 paid a rent of only 70 merks, while the 1697 "brief rental" shows the rent at 140 merks. This holding was clearly one of the most important in Harris, and the fact that there were no arrears is significant in view of the uncertain payments from other holdings.

Rorie mcqueine in Rowdil held a clittick for which in 1680, 1684 and 1685 he paid only 10 merks, the other eight merks due for the rental of a clittick being "for his service within the countrie". Yet in 1683, after he had paid 16 merks silver rent he still owed two merks, a total of 18 merks. In 1684 he rested 15 merks, or more than his rent, and in 1685 seven merks. In 1686 and 1688 only four were paid, and none in 1687, so it would seem that in spite of performing fairly regular unspecified services for Macleod, he found it increasingly difficult to pay even the reduced rent.

The above survey reveals several interesting aspects of these tenants' financial circumstances throughout the landholding hierarchy. As to the basic question of ability to pay their rents, the following summary may be the best indication.

Large Holdings (more than 2d)

		Type of Tenant	Little Diffi- culty	Some Diffi- culty	Diffi- culty	Shown in 1698 (excluding west coast holdings)
Strond	5d	Single	x			(x)
Hushinish & Scarp	5d	Single	x			-
Eile	4d	Joint- Single		x		-
North Scarsta	4d	Single	x			
North Copiphell	3-3½d	Single			x	x
Luskintyre	3d	Single- Joint		x		
Raa	3d	Single		x		-
Meikle Borrow	2½d	Single		x		x
South Copiphell	2½d	Single			x	(x)
Seileboost	2d	Single	x			-
Pablis	2d	Joint	x			-
			5	4	2	

Medium Holdings (½d - 2d)

Middle Borrow	5½ farthings					
		Joint		x		
Northtown	1d	Joint	x			x
Little Borrow	1d	Joint	x			
Scalpay	¾d	Joint		x		x
Middletown	½ x 2d	Joint	x			
Morgisboost	½d-1d	Joint			x	-
			3	2	1	

Small Holdings (less than ½d)

Lingay	6 clitticks					
		Joint	x			
Drimfuint	½d-6 "	Joint			x	
Kirktown	½d	Joint		x		x
Ensay	2-3 "	Joint	x			x
Roudil	1 "	Joint			x	
			2	1	2	

These particular tenants having been chosen for their length of appearance in the rentals, it is significant that there are as many large tenants as those in medium and small holdings put together, and that the number of tenants become fewer in each category. It thus appears that the larger the holding, the greater the likelihood there was of remaining as tenant for a considerable length of time. The type of tenant of holdings larger than 1d, i.e. the valuation of the smallest farm, is interesting in that the list clearly shows that they were occupied mainly by single tenants, and though it is a feature of the list that 12 joint tenants are shown compared to eight single tenants, with two examples of changes in tenure, none of the holdings occupied solely by joint-tenants were larger than 2d.

The proportion of tenants who found it relatively easy or difficult to pay their rents is also significant. Half the small tenants and more than half of those in medium or large holdings found at least some difficulty, and altogether 12 out of 22 were not able to pay their rents on time. It was small tenants who proportionately to all tenants in the category found it the most difficult, but across the spectrum the size of the holding does not seem to have affected ability to pay the rents. Although three of the four largest holdings paid the full amount when due, the next six found at least some difficulty, while of the five holdings between 1d-2d four paid their rents with comparative ease. Furthermore, some holders of less than a ½d were able to pay their rents fairly regularly unlike several in much larger holdings. On the other hand, the tenants of medium and large holdings were able to call on higher sums of money to pay their arrears - which, it must be noted, were correspondingly higher. Small tenants do not seem to have rested very much more than their rent, e.g. Drimfuint and Rowdil - while in the Copiphells, to take the extreme example, arrears were sometimes more

than twice as much, and many of the larger holdings owed substantial sums proportional to their rents. These sums could be paid off fully in one year, e.g. Raa, in amounts that imply very respectable means/funds.

A comparison of the tenants' silver rents and silver rests for 1683-1688 shows a definite trend towards augmentation in arrears. These were especially noticeable in the holdings of Drimfuint, Maikle Borrow, Middle Borrow, Horgisbost, Luskintyre, Scalpay and Rowdil; these tenancies occurred throughout the landholding scale (and only the west coast holdings seem to have been unaffected). This phenomenon is discussed in more detail on p.267, but the number of individual tenants influenced show that its effect was widespread.

The criterion for security of tenure having been established as appearance in the rentals despite aggregations of arrears, the number of tenants who are shown in 1698 is interesting. The west coast holdings are omitted, as they were included in the wadset. Of the largest tenants, two were shown on 1698 and the sons of two had taken over, and there were two remaining tenants in each of the other sections. It thus appears that though there was a bias towards the large single holdings being occupied by any one person for a long time, whether or not he had comparatively large arrears, smaller joint tenants who experienced as great a difficulty in meeting their rents enjoyed considerable security of tenure.

Yearly Variations in rent due, rent paid and arrears, Harris 1679-1698

Finsbury South Scarsta omitted

Townships	Silver Rents 1679	Rental 1680	Silver Rents 1681	Silver Rents 1682	Rental 1683	Silver Rents 1684	Rental 1685	Rents 1685	Silver Rent 1686	Silver Rent 1687	Silver Rent 1688	Rental 1689
Kirktown	2 12 0 Pounds Scots	175 0 0	81 2 4	148 5 0	175 0 0	209 8 0	175 0 0	288 0 2	90 8 0	69 1 0	75 8 4	205 0 0
Lingay	1 18 8	116 13 4	54 2 4	98 18 4	116 13 4	139 14 8	116 13 4	192 0 2	60 8 0	46 1 0	50 8 4	136 13 4
Middletown	9 6 8	60 0 0	24 11 8	34 13 0	60 0 0	9 11 0	60 0 0	18 11 8	22 3 4	49 13 0	- - -	60 0 0
Northtown	6 6 8	40 0 0	16 11 8	23 6 4	40 0 0	6 11 0	40 0 0	12 11 8	14 16 8	33 6 4	- - -	40 0 0
Ensay + Elie	12 0 0	44 0 0	46 0 0	- - -	44 0 4	11 1 0	44 0 4	17 3 10	27 11 2	22 6 8	40 9 0	80 0 8
Drumfunt	8 0 0	29 6 8	30 13 4	- - -	29 7 0	7 7 8	29 7 0	11 10 6	18 11 2	15 0 0	27 2 4	- - -
South Capiphell	- - -	80 0 0	99 12 0	31 4 6	80 0 4	11 12 4	80 0 4	39 4 0	59 0 4	54 10 0	76 0 0	- - -
North Capiphell	- - -	53 6 8	66 12 0	20 17 10	53 7 0	7 19 0	53 7 0	26 4 0	39 7 0	36 10 0	50 13 4	53 7 4
North Scarsta	21 8 0	260 0 0	264 9 0	0 10 2	265 8 4	68 8 8	263 3 4	67 0 8	129 9 10	197 8 4	78 7 4	300 0 0
Middle Barrow	14 8 0	173 6 8	176 9 6	0 10 2	177 1 8	45 15 4	175 10 0	44 14 0	86 9 10	131 15 0	52 7 4	200 0 0
Little Barrow	- - -	40 0 0	40 0 0	7 6 8	40 0 0	19 1 0	40 0 0	15 1 8	44 0 0	65 8 0	- - -	40 0 0
Hargyast	- - -	26 13 4	26 13 4	5 0 0	26 13 4	12 14 4	26 13 4	10 1 8	29 6 8	43 14 8	- - -	26 13 4
Seil + host	42 0 0	72 6 8	70 10 8	78 0 0	72 6 8	113 6 8	72 6 8	156 0 0	80 0 0	91 0 0	- - -	72 6 8
Luskintyre	28 0 0	48 6 8	47 4 0	52 0 0	48 6 8	75 13 4	48 6 8	104 0 0	53 6 8	60 13 4	- - -	48 6 8
Rowdill	47 0 0	100 0 0	22 0 0	120 0 0	100 0 0	286 0 0	100 0 0	226 0 0	- - -	83 0 0	- - -	100 0 0
Rowdill	31 6 8	66 13 4	14 13 4	80 0 0	66 13 4	190 13 4	66 13 4	150 13 4	- - -	55 6 8	- - -	66 13 4
Rowdill	- - -	130 0 0	130 0 0	- - -	130 0 0	- - -	130 0 0	75 6 8	- - -	- - -	200 0 0	120 0 0
Rowdill	- - -	86 13 4	86 13 4	- - -	86 13 4	- - -	86 13 4	50 6 8	- - -	- - -	133 6 8	80 0 0
Rowdill	- - -	130 0 0	130 0 0	- - -	130 0 0	- - -	130 0 0	- - -	68 5 0	86 2 0	- - -	130 0 0
Rowdill	- - -	86 13 4	86 13 4	- - -	86 13 4	- - -	86 13 4	- - -	45 11 8	57 8 8	- - -	86 13 4
Rowdill	16 7 2	83 0 0	99 0 0	51 6 8	82 6 8	95 0 0	41 3 4	50 0 0	22 12 8	48 0 0	68 0 0	75 0 0
Rowdill	11 0 6	55 6 8	66 0 0	34 6 8	55 0 0	63 6 8	27 10 0	33 6 8	15 6 0	32 0 0	45 6 8	50 0 0
Rowdill	0 6 8	82 6 8	76 6 8	6 0 0	82 6 8	8 4 0	82 6 8	4 4 0	65 4 0	65 11 0	23 0 0	80 6 8
Rowdill	0 6 8	55 0 0	51 0 0	4 0 0	55 0 0	5 10 8	55 0 0	2 18 8	43 10 8	43 17 8	15 6 8	53 13 4
Rowdill	- - -	72 0 0	99 0 0	15 0 0	72 0 0	22 2 4	72 0 0	20 6 8	45 2 8	58 6 8	97 4 0	- - -
Rowdill	- - -	48 0 0	66 0 0	10 0 0	48 0 0	14 15 8	48 0 0	13 13 4	30 2 8	39 0 0	64 17 4	- - -
Rowdill	- - -	120 0 0	120 0 0	- - -	120 0 0	- - -	120 0 0	- - -	- - -	172 0 0	100 0 0	- - -
Rowdill	- - -	80 0 0	80 0 0	- - -	80 0 0	- - -	80 0 0	- - -	- - -	114 13 4	66 13 4	- - -
Rowdill	- - -	80 0 0	92 4 4	7 0 0	80 0 0	30 9 0	80 0 0	73 2 8	77 11 4	26 0 0	60 0 0	- - -
Rowdill	- - -	53 6 8	61 11 2	5 13 4	53 6 8	20 9 0	53 6 8	48 16 0	51 18 0	17 6 8	40 0 0	- - -
Rowdill	680 0 0	280 0 0	160 0 0	- - -	280 0 0	- - -	280 0 0	60 0 0	- - -	160 0 0	160 0 0	- - -
Rowdill	453 6 8	186 13 4	106 13 4	- - -	186 13 4	- - -	186 13 4	106 13 4	- - -	106 13 4	106 13 4	- - -
Rowdill	- - -	120 0 0	120 0 0	- - -	120 0 0	10 4 4	120 0 0	54 0 4	116 2 0	140 0 0	118 3 4	- - -
Rowdill	- - -	92 0 0	80 0 0	- - -	80 0 0	6 17 8	80 0 0	36 0 4	77 8 8	93 6 8	78 16 8	- - -
Rowdill	- - -	100 0 0	100 0 0	8 8 8	100 0 0	31 5 4	100 0 0	80 0 0	188 0 0	43 6 8	118 6 8	- - -
Rowdill	- - -	66 13 4	66 13 4	5 13 4	66 13 4	20 19 8	66 13 4	53 6 8	125 6 8	29 0 0	79 0 0	- - -
Rowdill	8 0 0	160 0 0	161 12 0	38 3 4	160 0 0	88 0 0	200 0 0	40 0 0	186 4 8	192 5 4	216 3 4	- - -
Rowdill	5 6 8	106 13 4	107 16 8	25 10 0	106 13 4	58 13 4	133 6 8	26 13 4	124 4 8	128 5 4	144 3 4	- - -
Rowdill	59 0 0	110 0 0	71 5 4	50 5 4	110 0 0	63 5 4	110 0 0	81 4 4	124 0 0	96 4 6	60 0 0	180 0 0
Rowdill	39 6 8	73 6 8	47 12 0	33 12 0	73 6 8	47 5 4	73 6 8	54 4 4	82 13 4	64 4 6	40 0 0	120 0 0
Rowdill	- - -	80 0 0	150 0 0	- - -	80 0 0	- - -	80 0 0	- - -	- - -	- - -	- - -	70 0 0
Rowdill	- - -	53 6 8	100 0 0	- - -	53 6 8	- - -	53 6 8	- - -	- - -	- - -	- - -	46 13 4
Rowdill	134 12 8	248 0 0	194 7 4	103 9 0	243 0 0	220 10 8	266 0 0	160 3 0	53 3 4	215 4 0	158 6 8	290 0 0
Rowdill	89 19 4	165 6 8	179 14 0	69 2 4	162 0 0	147 4 0	177 6 8	103 16 4	35 10 0	143 10 8	105 13 4	193 6 8

Variations in yearly totals of rent due, rent paid and arrears, Harris 1679-1698

	Silver Rents	Rental	Silver Rent	Silver Rents	Rental	Silver Rents	Rental	Silver Rents	Silver Rent	Silver Rent	Silver Rent	Rental
	1679	1680	1683	1683	1684	1684	1685	1685	1686	1687	1688	1698
Extra Merks Scots	- - -	- - -	70 12 4	22 6 8	- - -	- - -	- - -	- - -	- - -	30 3 4	- - -	- - -
Payments Pounds Scots	- - -	- - -	47 5 8	15 0 0	- - -	- - -	- - -	- - -	- - -	20 3 4	- - -	- - -
Towns excluding	899 0 6	2379 0 0	2164 5 10	590 10 0	2384 2 4	1078 12 4	2380 7 4	1466 6 8	1347 8 4	1722 3 2	1492 2 0	1593 0 8
Finsbay + Rowdil	599 7 2	1586 0 0	1442 19 2	393 16 8	1589 9 0	719 5 8	1587 0 8	977 13 4	898 3 4	1148 3 2	994 15 4	1062 0 8
Ditto including	899 0 6	2379 0 0	2235 4 10	613 3 4	2384 2 4	1078 12 4	2380 7 4	1466 6 8	1347 8 4	1752 6 6	1492 2 0	1593 0 8
Extra Payments	599 7 2	1586 0 0	1490 4 10	408 16 8	1589 9 0	719 5 8	1587 0 8	977 13 4	898 3 4	1168 6 6	994 15 4	1062 0 8
Finsbay	- - -	24 0 0	including extra 27 0 0	- - -	24 0 0	- - -	24 0 0	- - -	- - -	- - -	- - -	16 7 2 148 3 0 16 7 2
	- - -	16 0 0	18 0 0	- - -	16 0 0	- - -	16 0 0	- - -	- - -	- - -	- - -	16 7 2 148 3 0 16 7 2
Rowdil	134 12 8	248 0 0	194 7 4	103 9 0	243 0 0	220 10 8	266 0 0	160 3 0	53 3 4	+ 43 0 0 215 4 0	158 6 8	290 0 0
	89 19 4	165 6 8	129 14 0	69 2 4	162 0 0	147 4 0	177 6 8	106 16 4	35 10 0	+ 28 13 4 143 10 8	105 13 4	193 6 8
Total Finsbay	134 12 8	272 0 0	221 7 4	103 9 0	267 0 0	220 10 8	290 0 0	160 3 0	53 3 4	258 4 0	158 6 8	290 0 0
Rowdil + Extras	89 19 4	181 6 8	147 14 0	69 2 4	178 0 0	147 4 0	193 6 8	106 16 4	35 10 0	172 4 0	105 13 4	193 6 8
All townships	1033 13 2	2651 0 0	2385 13 2	694 5 8	2651 2 4	1299 9 8	2670 7 4	1626 9 8	1400 11 8	1937 7 2	1650 8 8	1883 0 8
excluding Extras	689 6 6	1767 6 8	1592 13 2	462 19 0	1767 9 0	866 9 8	1780 7 4	1084 9 8	933 18 4	1291 13 10	1100 8 8	1255 7 4
All townships	1033 13 2	2651 0 0	2456 12 2	716 12 4	2651 2 4	1299 9 8	2670 7 4	1626 9 8	1400 11 8	2010 10 6	1650 8 8	1883 0 8
including Extras	689 6 6	1767 6 8	1637 6 8	477 19 0	1767 9 0	866 9 8	1780 7 4	1084 9 8	933 18 4	1340 10 6	1100 8 8	1255 7 4

The tables on the previous two pages are a development of the previous one showing living standards of individual tenants. They compare the rents due from each holding, those actually paid, and rests between 1679 and 1698, according to the hypothesis that the extremes of such a comparison - equal sums of rent due and paid, and long lists of unpaid rent - indicate very different economic circumstances.

Processing of silver rent lists and arrears was complicated by the cursory way in which tenants were listed, e.g. 'finlay mc neil', and the absence of a further patronymic often made certain identification impossible. Further problems were caused by additional entries in some lists of tenants who had paid or were owing money to the factor for extraneous items not necessarily related to money rents. Amounts involved were usually not large, but since they had definitely been paid by the tenants, totals were calculated with and without these 'extras'. Rowdil is compared with other holdings, but is also shown in a separate section with Finsbay. South Scarsta is omitted as usual.

Silver rents paid often bore little relationship to the money rents due, for reasons very possibly other than inability of the tenant to pay, and the estate official to collect the rent. Willingness was also a factor, as may be observed in the 1724 rental when two tenants refused to pay increased rents: one (Bernaray) was allowed to pay the same rent, and there is no evidence for the other (Strond). Sir Norman MacLeod of Bernaray's own assessment of the value of his holding (Hushinish and Scarp) may also have been the cause of the permanent discrepancy between rents due and paid. The assiduity with which the factor sought both rents and arrears also affected final totals because he acted as mediator between landlord and tenant, for instance over questions of reductions in rent (e.g. 1698 rental).

Unusually, there is written evidence to show the relationship between rents paid and unpaid. The document on p.380 shows that arrears were included in the following year's money rent payments, but were not shown in the judicial rental of rents due from holdings. Most of the lists of arrears for the previous year were written on the same day as the judicial rental, round about Whitsuntide. The 1680 rental is an exception, in that while the ~~actual~~ rents were set from the Whitsunday of 1680, the actual rental and the rests for 'Crop and Yeare 1678 and of the year 1679' were written in October 13th and 15th respectively. In this instance arrears were clearly allowed to run on for two years or even longer since it was unlikely that sums left unpaid by the October would be collected until the following year. The 1683 silver rent list includes 'old rests of 82 years', but there is no way of knowing how old the arrears were. Other rentals merely include the rests of the previous year, but recurrent examples of odd shillings and pence from individual tenants, e.g. in Luskintyre and Raa, show that these amounts at least were carried over from year to year.

The establishment of the fact that rests did accumulate is quite important since one of the striking results to emerge from the table is that amounts of arrears increased steadily throughout the period, both in ordinary holdings and in the village of Rowdil. The combined rests of 1678 and 1679 came to approximately three-eighths of the total rent. Despite payments of only slightly less than the rents due in 1683, more than a quarter of the money rent was still owing. In 1684 rests totalled about half the money rent and by 1685 about five-eighths. Over the next three years the situation did not improve: in 1686 again only just over half the sums due were paid, and about two-thirds in 1688. The 1687 silver rent list is equivocal in that two totals are given, one 'summa totalis', and the other 'total rests', but even if it is assumed to be a list of payments, they amount to only three quarters of the 1685 rental.

There was thus widespread difficulty in paying money rents during the 1680's; which class of tenant found it the most difficult? According to proportions of total rents, the table can be summarised as follows:

<u>Holding</u>	<u>Size in Pennylands</u>	<u>Type of Tenancy</u>	<u>Little Difficulty</u>	<u>Some Difficulty</u>	<u>Great Difficulty</u>
Kirktown	7	Joint			X
Lingay	2	Joint		X	
Middletown	2	Joint	X		
Northtown	3	Joint		X	
Ensay and Elie	5½	Joint		X	
Drimfuit	1	Joint		X	
South Copiphell	3	Single			X
North Copiphell	3	Single			X
North Scarsta	4	Single	X		
Meikle Borrow	2¾	Single		X	
Middle Borrow	2¾	Joint			X
Little Borrow	2¾	Joint	X		
Horgisbost	2½	Joint	X		
Seilebost	2	Single	X		
Luskintyre	3	Joint		X	
Hushinish & Scarp	5	Single	X		
Pablie	4	Joint	X		
Raa	23	Single		X	
Elie	4	Joint		X	
Scalpay	1	Joint		X	
Strond	5	Single	X		
Rowdil	1	Joint			X
			—	—	—
			8	9	5
			—	—	—

From this it appears that single tenants found it somewhat easier to pay their rents than joint tenants, i.e. four out of eight compared to four

out of fourteen. On the other hand, single holdings did not have a monopoly of low sums of arrears, as neither did joint tenants large amounts.

Size of holding also seems to have had a slight effect on ability to pay rent, in that the seven large holdings - over 4d - were shared amongst the three categories in the proportion of 4 : 2 : 1, and of the four, three were occupied by single tenants. The other three large joint-holdings were farmed only with some difficulty, but the arrears of Kirktown were exceptional. Yet amongst holders of smaller farms (1d - 2½d excluding Rowdill) none, either single or joint, found it particularly troublesome to pay their rent on time - three found it comparatively easy and three found some difficulty. The eight farms with valuations of 2½d - 3d showed an interesting contrast in that only one joint holding paid its rent fairly easily, as against four with some difficulty - equally divided between single and joint tenants - and three only with great difficulty, of which two were held by the single tenants of North and South Copiphell, and their problems are understandable.

Across the spectrum, therefore, a holding's size seems to have had only a marginal effect on ability of its tenant, whether single or joint, to pay rent, and this factor seems so vitally important as regards the relationship between tenants and sub-tenants that it is discussed in the conclusion on p.337.

Possible other reasons were next taken into account, and that of individual tenants was first explored, to see if the picture was unduly distorted by extraordinary circumstances. It was found that, in the majority of holdings in arrears, most if not all of the tenants' names were included in ever-increasing numbers, and it was unusual to find that only one or two joint-tenants out of several had paid. Amounts were

also consistent in that, with the possible exception of Kirktown and Middle Borrow, the arrears owed by tenants corresponded with their rents due - small tenants did not have substantial arrears and large tenants no disproportionate amounts. What did emerge, however, was that tenants paid off their arrears in kind as well as in cash: angus mckenzie rested 61 merks in 1684, but "it is to be remembered yt ye sd angus is payed in seven barrells of saltt in this accompt for crop & year 1684", and donald Campbell's plaid was "allowed" for 8m-0-8 in Raa in 1685; other similar payments were probably offset against arrears. On the other hand, amongst the large tenants arrears could perhaps have been for items other than the rent, e.g. Normand mc allister's 10-oared boat. As his were the highest arrears of a single tenant, however, it was probably not very usual.

The next possible influence considered was that of site. Since holdings are listed approximately as they occur round the coasts of Harris, from the islands in the South West to Rowdil in the South East, it may be seen that a holding's location did, to a certain extent, affect rent payments. For instance, only those of Middletown out of the holdings on Pabbay and Ensay, and including the coastal fringe of Eile and the Copiphells, were paid fairly easily, though on the islands none except Kirktown found it very difficult. The majority of holdings able to pay their rents were on the West Coast; from North Scarsta to Hushinish and the island of Scarp in the extreme North West no great difficulty was experienced, and six out of the ten found it easy. In fact, on this stretch of coast no less than four holdings - all occupied by single tenants - had no arrears at all.

In the village of Rowdil, by contrast, arrears averaged about 60% of the rents due, so it would seem that its site on the most fertile of

Harris soils was no guarantee of increased capacity to pay, especially puzzling in view of the fact that produce rents were merely nominal.

A picture of some hardship is thus emerging, and it is clear that accumulated rests were not the whole answer to the steadily worsening situation, since some holdings could have alternate substantial and slight arrears - e.g. Lingay, Northtown, Middle Borrow and Eife, while in the same years others' rests were increasing steadily - only Lingay, Middle Borrow and Little Borrow had smaller sums of arrears in 1685 than in 1683, and 1684's rests were nearly double those of the previous year. It can be held that climatic changes must have been largely responsible, which makes the gap in evidence between 1689 and 1698 all the more frustrating. Indeed after 1685 there is no more detailed evidence for arrears except for the following information, taken from rentals and factors' accounts. 1696-1699 were bad years for much of Scotland, and signs of hardship are first seen in the 1698 rental and the factor's entry for Kenneth Morisone in Middle Borrow. However, by the early eighteenth century lands were recovering elsewhere, whereas in Harris the rentals are full of references to poverty, e.g. in 1701 to the smiths, to Kenneth Mc Illichalum ghlaish, tenant of $\frac{1}{2}$ d in Northtown "in consideration of his poverty and the badnesse of the years he hase ane halfe stone forgiven him", and to Neil Mc Caskill in South Copiphell (1 $\frac{1}{2}$ d) "in respects that he is a beginner and in consideration of his poverty he has gotten down 5 merks of his money rent and halfe a stone halfe a wedi." In 1702 four tenants paid reduced rents, and five in 1703 - again mainly produce rents, presumably because there was no point in reducing money rents which could not be paid anyway. Total money rents due from Harris according to the factor's account were 1800 merks in 1700, 1815 in 1701 and 1705 in 1702, but it is clear that a large proportion was not collected, and in Skye "rests of the country"

I Malrums Campbell Chamberlain of the Harrier Quarters loggers and Blair that by right of the late Lord of Melrose
his Curators there was a present drawn upon me by them for pay of eight cows more to Anna Campbell widow in unplace
Stanley Campbell Chamberlain of Harrier, for supporting her weak family of Cairns that had no other subsistence, & yearly
during Melrose's minority, as also for four cows four shillings and four widdows to Glenrothes a poor widow yearly during her
lifespan, and to Redburn's widow & Glenrothes a poor widow one cow one shilling & one widdow as above for pay of 12 months more
yearly to Grace McCaffell for maintaining Mr. McCaffell for a poor orphan until he was in condition to work for his bread, all the
persons I payed accordingly preceding June 1768. At which time I gave up the present to all the above named persons, & to Glenrothes
filling me Chamberlain ordered to pay the present allowances to the present widows for two years therefore, & to Glenrothes
Melrose during her lifespans, & that I did accordingly, Glenrothes dying in March 1769 years. And I explain yd was added to pay to
Mr. John Laing then Chamberlain at Glendale at my parking with the late Melrose at Dunsinane, the sum of 50 shillings more for yearly
whilst he stayed in the Country as a Carrier for carrying the stone, & that I did conform to that Mr. John Laing's order, & I do hereby
further declare that there was forgoon by the late Melrose at Dunsinane the 8th of August 1768 to Glenrothes of the Harrier's Annals
contained in a list written thereof by Mr. John Laing of the rest given up by Hugh and me in the Harrier's hands for Great 1765
proceedings, attracting from of the gave them formerly down at the Port of Harrier in June year 1765 amounting to the sum of
one thousand five hundred and ninety five shillings eight pence & six farthings, & that the same was taken by the gill of Melrose from
me & that I charged for the present rest given up in Melrose's hands amount, seeing the deduction was made after the amount paid was
deducted and this by and attain the rest presently given up by me to the Port of Harrier as being in the Harrier's hands amounting to the
sum of five thousand five hundred and eighty seven shillings ten pence & six farthings, three hundred and eighty seven shillings ten pence & six farthings two
pence & six farthings, & I give two shillings and one hundred and eighty two shillings & six pence & six farthings & six pence & six farthings
all in outmost whereof I have paid their bills at London in Harrier's for the 1st day of Decr 1769 years.

Mal Campbell

for 1701-2 were 4,272m-5-0 and 3,719m-2-10 in 1703. In 1704 and 1705 conditions must have worsened since money rent arrears written off in Harris and Skye amounted to 4645-5-0 and 10,657-3-4 respectively, in addition to substantial produce rents.¹¹ In 1706 the Harris debts for that year and preceedings were 1596m and 4667m-10-0 plus produce rents: there is then no mention of arrears and it is to be assumed that these amounts, too, were written off.

From this survey it is clear that tenants were heavily dependent upon the landlord's goodwill for security of tenure in the seventeenth century, and that this was forthcoming towards large and small tenant alike as illustrated by the document on the previous page. A comparison with the available evidence for 1754 is thus important: is there any reason for the popular assumption that tenants had less security of tenure then? One pointer is contained in written tacks, outlining the penalties for non-payment of rent on time: it is significant that on the MacLeod estates in the seventeenth century written tacks were an exception whereas on the Gordon estates tenants considered a written tack for their land absolutely essential; in 1640 Andrew mc phersone of Cluny and ewin his eldest son should have paid 162m-6-8 "but refuse because no security of tenure" - he was in 1642 described as tenant "be ane clos minut but not security past". The seventeenth and eighteenth century MacLeod tacks, while very similar in general import, do contain significant differences as seen in the two following extracts:¹²

Strond 1657

"To continue in the said thankful payment of the said yearlie silver dewtie victuall and cassualties forsaide at the said terme of Pertimes during the haill yeires of this tack and yat under the paine of fiftie markis of liquidat penaltie and expenses modifiet heirby in cais of failzie of

the said yeirlie dewtie, by and attour the yeirlie dewtie itself". If the rents "be not thankfullie without prejudice payed at ilk Martimes without further prorogation or delay then and in that case this present tack is to be null and of none availl force nor effect". Furthermore, instruments were "to be taken yairupon in the hands of anie sufficient man befour famous witnesses to remove yame selves, bairnes, servantis, cottars, guidis and geir furth and fra the saidis lands with yair pertinents at the nixt terme yair efter, but warning or process of law and to leave the samyne void and readie to be possest be the said Rodericke Mc Cloid and utheris in his name quietlie in all tyme yairefter to the effect the saidis lands above sett with their pertinents may be of newe sett by the said Rodericke McCloid and his foirsaidis to quhatsumevir person or persones he pleas in all tyme yairefter".

Meavaig 1754

"In Consideration whereof you (John MacAulay) are to pay to me (Norman MacLeod) the sum of thirty three pounds Six shillings and Eight pennies Scots of Money Rent at the term of Martinmas yearly during the continuance of this Tack. Beginning the first terms payment thereof at Mart^s next declaring all ways that if you faill in the payment of the sd Rents at the said term of payment yearly this Tack shall be in that Case Void and null and it shall be in my power to turn you out of the said lands brevi manu without using any previous Warning for that Effect and seize and apprehend your Cattle for the my payment under which condition this presents Tack is granted and no otherways".

First of all, the 1651 tack implied that non-payment of the rent was followed by automatic ejection from the lands, whereas in 1754 it merely gave the landlord the power to evict the tenant. It was most unlikely

however that rent would remain completely unpaid in any one year, and provision was made in Strond's tack for fifty merks penalty to be added for partial non-payment. John McKenzie's son was not in arrears between 1680 and 1685, but such an imposition does not seem to have occurred in any other holding and it may have acted as a safeguard in case a tenant had the money but was not inclined to pay his rents - a situation which never seems to have occurred in Harris save perhaps for Sir Norman MacLeod of Berneray's holding of Hushinish and Scarp.

In the 1657 tack the tenant had to vacate the tenancy only "at the next terme yairefter" the arrears, but John MacAulay could be turned out of his holding at any time 'brevi manu' without any previous warning, and his cattle could also be impounded to pay the arrears. In the seventeenth century estate organisation was close-knit and officials would presumably know a tenant's circumstances, and the reasons for non-payment were probably likely to receive a sympathetic hearing. In 1754 the threat of summary eviction followed by loss of assets - tantamount to destitution - reveals a very different attitude on the part of the landlord: John's rent of £ 33-6-8 was only 6sh.8d. more than the price of two cattle, which argues a small stock and arrears for him would clearly be very serious. In fact apart from 'a bay in the forest', his was the smallest holding, which appeared in the 1754 rental for the first time and if the provisions of the tack were strictly adhered to, this tenant must have lived in perpetual fear of eviction. There is evidence to show, however, that they were not always carried out. In the discharge sides of Factors' Accounts for Harris, "Ballance resting in the Tenants Hands" occurred as follows:

	<u>Pounds Scots</u>
1725 - 1726	£ 23-13- 4
1727	£ 758-13- 0
1728 - 1729	£ 144-11- 0
1731	£ 163-17- 8
1733	£ 78- 5- 0
1734	£ 161-19- 4
1735	£ 2115-13- 4
1747	£ 977-10- 0
1749	£ 101- 6- 0
1750	£ 375-11- 8
1751	£ 162-15- 4
1753	£ 936- 2- 6
1754 - 1755	£ 1378-10-10

Other entries also appear as "Ballance due to MacLeod", but since there is no evidence to suggest that it was primarily due to arrears, these are not shown.

The list shows different traits from arrears in the late seventeenth century. Firstly tenants did not apparently take so long to recover from years of great hardship. Secondly arrears were calculated taking produce rents into account, so that the proportions of actual money rents in arrears to sums due would be considerably smaller than those of 1680 - 1706. The appearance of comparatively minor sums is also different from the 1680's, probably indicative of increased efficiency and the fact that rents (and arrears) during this period were collected from very much fewer tenants. Tenant lists for 1754 show strong resemblances to those of 1724 and tenants were from families long associated with the MacLeods. It is thus most unlikely that there was a shifting population amongst the tenantry, despite arrears from some

holdings in years when there was no widespread difficulty in meeting the rents. In periods of hardship we do not know if the rents were later collected or written off. The former eventuality, taking the comparatively rapid recovery into account, would argue that in good years tenants could pay almost double their rents due, which from the other evidence does not seem very likely. The summer of 1747 was "glorious", and good prices were given for the 'small drove of cows', and yet the tenants were in want and meal was given them both by the Government (1500 bolls of meal and bear) and MacLeod himself.¹⁴ There are also documents to show that money, meal and milk cows were regularly given out in charity to former officials and servants, old tenants, widows and many inhabitants who are not named in either the 1724 or 1754 rentals, throughout the period; the number and amount of these payments increased during the 1740's and 1750's.¹⁵ 'Eases' and diminution of victual rents were also given, especially to tenants in Pabbay and Rowdil - and these were presumably to small tenants. The complete St. Kilda rents were also waived twice, in 1725 and 1749: in the former year they were "given up to buy a boat".

Tenants in the eighteenth century clearly did not lack a basic security of tenure. However, the main difference between seventeenth and eighteenth century conditions lay in the fact that the status of the tenants themselves had changed and most of the people now in receipt of charity were not tenants but sub-tenants. It therefore seems that the standards of living amongst the various classes of tenantry altered, inasmuch as in the late seventeenth century all were affected by bad harvests and all equally dependent upon the tradition of continued 'eases' and rents given down: very few tenants managed to pay their rents on time, and still fewer their complete rent every year. In the

eighteenth century however the evidence suggests that this class enlarged considerably and that there existed a class of tenants who lived in very comfortable circumstances. Other, smaller, tenants and sub-tenants were increasingly dependent upon charity in order to survive years in which most larger tenants found no great difficulty in paying their rents, e.g. 1751. The widening gap between large tenants and the other classes of tenantry, together with the latter's increasing dependence upon their landlord's good-will in a society influenced less by tradition and more by commercial considerations, are two outstanding features of social change during the period.

NOTES TO HARRIS RENTS BEFORE 1680

1. Quoted in R.C. MacLeod, the Book of Dunvegan, Vol.I, p.106.
2. MacLeod Papers Box 1: Vol.I, p.2.
3. MacLeod Papers Box 3: Vol.I, pp.24,28.
4. A.McKerral 'Ancient Denominations of Agricultural Land
Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland, Vol.78, p.56.
5. Valuations of all MacLeod's holdings in Skye are shown on pp.362ff.
6. Waternish in 1498 was in the hands of MacLeod of Lewis, and no
evidence for its valuation in unciates is available until 1611.
7. MacLeod Papers Box 1: Vol.I, p.19.

The 10d valuations of the various holdings are interesting in that
they constitute 'leth-bhaile' or townships of half the original
Norse valuations (20d) per township.
8. MacLeod Papers Box 1: Vol.I, p.275.
9. A. McKerral, op.cit. p.63.
10. MacLeod Papers Box 43b: Vol.I, p.99.
11. One reason for this trend was undoubtedly due to depreciation.

In 1483 the ounce of silver was coined into 40 pennies: in 1601
720 pennies.
12. MacLeod Papers Box 8: Vol.I, p.77.

Although the Lochaber rental was published in the Spalding Club
Miscellany IV, the original differs in a good many respects of
which the following superscription is one of the most interesting
examples:

Gargavache, XL mark land.

This fourtie mark land payis to my lord fourtie markis allanerlie.

Allester M'Randell possessor thairrof.

This fourtie mark land conteinis the tounes followings:

Kilmenevack, ane mark land	1d land
Brackleter, fyue mark land	5d land
Innachane, tua mark land	4d land
Kailchonnar, thre mark land	3d land
Inche, sex mark, half mark	5d land
Clioneck, tua mark land sett in Teilbowe	2d land
Monesse, ane mark 4sh	1d land
Auchmogoachin, 2 mark 8sh	2d land
Innerlarye, 2 mark 8sh sett in Teilbowe	2d land
Innerseatt, 3 mark 12 sh set in Teilbow	3d land
Blairouer Beige 3 marks half mark	5d land
Lernedriche 3 mark	5d land
Auchmeche 3 mark 11j sh 11jd	5d land

(GD 44/51/747)

Other examples exist to suggest that a good number of holdings in Lochaber were valued at the same number of pennylands and merklands, and most exceptions were approximately equal.

13. MacLeod Papers Box 8: Vol.1, p.53.
14. MacLeod Papers Box 43a: Vol.1, p.71.
15. The actual document (in MacLeod Papers Box 1) refers to two separate sums of money. It starts thus:
 " Sciatis quia litteras nostras vicecomiti nostro de Invernys
 et suis deputatis aliis direximus ad compellend et
 distringendum alexandrum mc cloid de dunbagan terras suas
 et bona sua et deficientibus suis bonis mobilibus ad
 apreciandum terras suas secundum tenorem acti nostri
 parliamenti pro summa quatuor millium octuaginta quinque

librarum decim solidorum et octo denariorum monete regni nostri".

Later in the document is written "Quoquidem tertio die mensis march antedictam adveniente dictus Alexander ballie vicecomes noster deputatis suprascriptus in predicto pretorio burgi nostri de Invernys comparint et ibidem in curia per ipsum inchoata et feufata dictam integram binam partem duarum tertiarum partium omnium et singularum prefatarum terrarum de Glenelge cum pertinentiis ad prefatum Alexandrum mc cloid hereditarie ut premittitur spectant per ipsum de nobis pro servitiis debitis et consuetis ut prefertur tent in capite pro summa duorum millium et quadringentarum marcarum monete antedictae per viginti et unam condignas personas ad hoc legitime citatas magnoque sacramento interveniente iuratas secundum tenore acti nostri parliamenti super appreciatione terrarum pro debito confectum de mandato litterarum nostrarum superscriptarum debite fecit appreciavi dicto alexandro mc cloid et ceteris omnibus interesse habentibus ad hoc ut premittitur legitime citatis ..."

16. Quoted in Book of Dunvegan, Vol.I, p.4.

17. MacLeod Papers Box 42: Vol.I, p.95.

18. MacLeod Papers Box 16: Vol.I, p.214.

MacLeod's emissary in the transaction was 'Malkome Persone of ye Herie': the MacPhersons seem to have been important tenants in Harris during the sixteenth century. In 1540 Davidus Johannis McPersoun was 'capellanus de Sancti Columbi in Rowodell'; possible other tenants in 1541 were 'Donald McVarreiss, Richardus McConnell, Suanus Mc Souil, Johannis Glass in Rouil' (MacLeod Papers Box 1: Vol.I, pp. 31, 37).

19. MacLeod Papers Box 8: Vol.I, pp.76-78.

20. Book of Dunvegan, Vol.I, p.146.

21. Printed in W.F. Skene 'Celtic Scotland', Vol.III, pp.428-440.
22. Ibid, p.438.
23. Printed in the Book of Dunvegan, Vol.I, pp.78-81.
24. MacLeod Papers Box 43a: Vol.I, pp.68,216.
25. I.F. Grant, The MacLeods, p.247.
26. Ibid, p.244.
27. R.C. MacLeod, History of the MacLeods, p.98.
28. I.F. Grant, The MacLeods, p.173.
29. A.R.B. Haldane, The Drove Roads of Scotland, p.16.
30. Rentals taken from GD.44/51/732 and GD.44/51/747.
31. MacLeod Papers Box 29: Vol.I, p.254.
32. Printed in C. Fraser-Mackintosh, Antiquarian Notes Vol.I, p.370.
33. I.F. Grant, The MacLeods, pp.353, 268.
34. Book of Dunvegan, Vol.I, p.270.
35. The 1691 Valuation is from 'Antiquarian Notes' Vol.I, pp.61-62,
and that for 1696 from the Book of Dunvegan, Vol.I, p.262.
The 1723 'The Laird of Macleod his valued rent within the shire
of Inverness' is in MacLeod of MacLeod Box 118b.
36. Gordon rentals in GD.44/51/747; Grant in GD.248/39/2.
37. H.C. Fraser, Land Statistics of Inverness-shire, p.11.
38. MacLeod Papers Box 8: Vol.I, p.55.
39. Silver Rents from Macleod's holdings in Skye in 1683 are
shown on p. 367.
40. I.F. Grant, The MacLeods, p.150.
41. Amounts are taken from the following sources:

Skye - 1706 Rental

Harris - 1680 Rental

Glenelg - The rent of Glenelg in 1699 according to the Factor's
Account for that year was as follows: (MacLeod Papers Box 26):

"Master Donald Macleod is charged by the Laird of Macleod and his curators for the rent of the Lands of Glenelg conform to his two feall Tacks as follows

Imprimis The Tack duty of the whole lands of Glenelg payable at Martimes 1699 04000 (merks)

To the Tack Duty of the half of the land and Barronie of Glenelg for the yeirs 1700, 1701, 1702, 1703, 1704 and 1705 at 2,500 merks per annum 15000

19000 "

There is a discharge in Box 17Ac for 3,830 merks for the rents of Glenelg received at Dunvegan 14/3/1700, yet according to a list of rents "immediately preceding the decease" of Iain Breac Macleod which was drawn up in 1724, £ 4634-13-4 was paid in money rent, and produce rents converted at contemporary prices amounted to £ 577-13-4. Macleod's half of Glenelg in 1718, 1719 and 1720 paid 2468, 2538 and 2598 merks respectively, agreeing with the rents from 1701 onwards, but it is not known whether produce rents were included. The 1644 valuation of 4,533-6-8 is possibly of more relevance than that of 1691, and the 1724 list of rents therefore seems a reasonable guide to the income from the lands.

42. Book of Dunvegan, Vol.I, p.154.

43. Old Statistical Account, Vol.16, pp. 265 ff.

NOTES TO HARRIS MONEY RENTS 1680 - 1754.

1. MacLeod Papers, Box 22.
2. There is a reference in a discharge of teinds for 1662 to the sett of the 'bishop's third of the teind sheaves and other teinds'. (MacLeod Papers, Box 29b: Vol.I, p.65).
3. Book of Dunvegan, Vol.II, p.76.
4. The Contullich Papers, Transactions of the Gaelic Society of Inverness, Vol. XLIII, p.97.
5. Ibid, Vol. XLV, p.36.
6. An unnamed and undated document in Box 17C states:
"We Rodrick and Normand McLeods Chamberlands to the Laird of Mackleod grant us to be fully payed of John Campbell in Scalpay of the Hundred merks that was resting of his entrie mony and also of nine score of merks yearly as his rent out of the sds lands of Scalpy & that dureing all the years of our Intromission; And hereby oblidge us to hold compt yrfore to Mackleod or his representative, & warrant the same John Campbell at all hands. In wittness qrof we have subtt their pntts written be me the sd Normand Mackleod with our hands at Portrie the twentieth seventh day of June one thousand seven hundred - years before their wittneses John Moure brother to the Laird of Rowllan and Mr. Charles McInnon Minister of the Gospell.
This is the true double of the discharge granted by Rodrick and Normand Mackleods Chamberlands to the Laird of McLeod to the above writn John Campbell as is attested by Wm. MacLeod of Hufinefs and Rorie Campbell in Ensay".
7. The theory that a set of Harris was made in 1678, i.e. 19 years before 1697 can again be no more than purely conjectural. One very slight piece of supporting evidence refers to 1678; the

1680 rental is described as "The rentall of the Lands of the Herris threnitenite of October 16~~78~~ 80", and it contains "The rests of the silver dutie for crop & yeare 1678 & of the year 1679". The substitution of 1680 for 1678 could mean that rents in the two years were the same, and the 1680 rental had been largely copied from the 1678 list, especially in view of the two years' arrears of silver rent. However, other important evidence on this subject is supplied by a memorandum to the landlord in 1670 which includes "Item more resting be yor honor to me for Malcome mc asckil which he payed at the seat in roag to yor honor 3m-2-0", and a 19 year set in 1669 or 1670 precludes the idea of a set in 1678.

8. Transactions of the Gaelic Society of Inverness, Vol. XLV, pp. 38, 42.

9. The attestation which survives (Box 17Ac) adds a few more details to this interesting episode, as follows:

"Malcolme Campbell in 1710 attested that the late Laird of Mackleod did give a year's sett of two pennies of the lands of Ensay to Rorie Campbell then indweller in Wyt and the sd Rorie having taken a sett of land from Sir Donald mc donald of Slate, before he did take the sett of the two pennies in Ensay The sd Normand McLeod of Dunvegan seeing these two setts in one year to be troublesome & a great burden to the said Rorie Campbell, therefore the forsd Laird of Mackleod for Rorie Campbells ease and encouragement to bring him from ane oyr country to his own land wch was then like to be ley did give and grant the first years sett free to the sd Rorie this I the sd Malcolme Campbell who was present Chamberland at that time cannot deny".

10. Finlay mc finlay appears to have been the son of another Chamberlain of Harris. In the MacLeod Papers, Box 17Ac is a document as follows:

"I finlay mckenzie chamberlane of the herries grants me at the making heirof to be iustlie resting to the Right Honble Roderick mc loid Laird of Dunveggan All and haile the soume of ane hundreth thrie score and fyftain merke monie owing be me of the teinds of the herries and that for crop and yeir of god 1662 as testifies. Subt with my hand (wrytin be kenneth finlason notar publick) at Roadeill the tuentie nynt day of Julai 1663 yeiris

F MKenzie "

In the same box is a note:

"I ffinlay Campbell grants me to have borrowed and received frome the Ryt honorable John McLeod of Downbeggan the soume of 2570 merke 6sh 8d". The document is dated May 29th 1672, and is signed F. Campbell. The style of the two signatures is identical, both sets of initials being combined, and the handwriting very similar. It would thus seem that Finlay used the two names as did other people (see tenants' lists).

This dual system of nomenclature caused problems of identification of the Chamberlains' relatives, as follows. The first reference to Finlay McFinlay is a discharge of all dues in 1674 (Box 16) and the last is the entry in the 1684 rental. In the following year 'the widow', or rachell nien ean vic innas Campbell is named as tenant, and in a document of 1686 she is named as 'Rachell Campbell, relict to umqll ffinlay Campbell. In 1689 a boll of grain was given to "ffinlay mc ffinlayes daughter"; and there is no further evidence for the family until Malcome Campbell's Attestation that Anna Campbell, relict to umquhall ffinlay Campbell 'sometyme chamberland of Harries' was given meal for her family of bairns.

It seems unlikely that Anna was the wife of the first finlay Campbell as her family would have been grown up by the end of the century, so must have been either finlay mc finlay's wife or daughter. The 1706 description says that her children had no other subsistence, so it would seem that she was the wife of finlay mc finlay, and Rachell the widow of Finlay mckenzie/Campbell who incidentally cannot have been the Finlay mc ean vic Innas (alias Campbell) in Luskintyre since Rachell is named as widow in the 1685 list of rests, and Finlay paid silver rent in 1686. This means that on finlay mc finlay's death his mother must have become tenant and in this context the tenure of the holding over the next few years is especially interesting. In 1688 'the widow and Rorie Campbell' were joint-tenants of the two Scarstas and between 1698 and 1703 Angus Campbell and his mother and Malcolm Campbell joint tenants of North Scarsta. It would thus seem that finlay mc finlay died young, and his wife did not re-marry; she was forced to become a sub-tenant and Rachell Campbell with her various sons kept on the tenancy until 1703.

11. In the Contullich accounts for 1706 concerning the teinds of Berneray:

" ... I having received these six years by reason of the tenants poverty and wasting of the Lands by Sand drift but Thirty Three Bolls Three firlets ... the wonted Rent being Twenty four Bolls pr Annum". This item is a good illustration of the extent to which casualty rents could be affected in years of scarcity.

12. The tacks are taken from the MacLeod Papers, Boxes 21Aa and 21Ac.
13. MacLeod Papers, Boxes 17Ab, 17Ac and 17C.

14. MacLeod Papers, Boxes 24e and 58: Vol.II, p.31.
15. MacLeod Papers, Box 13D.

CHAPTER 6 - PRODUCE RENTS.

The exploration of produce rent payments from tenants on the Macleod estate provided some very happy hours spent in research. This was due to an almost complete lack of evidence for conversion prices before 1700, which prompted a hunt through all the mid-late seventeenth century material for elusive facts and figures: bills, receipts and letters together supplied a fascinating insight into the way of life both on the estate and at Dunvegan Castle. Bills concerning the Macleod family were especially revealing, items ranging from a golf club and ball to an oven costed by the weight of iron it contained, and the variety of clothes worn and food consumed made strange reading after the rentals.

Unfortunately this research uncovered only one definite item of information - that of the price of a boll of victual in 1688, so that for the purposes of comparison, prices from the early eighteenth century had to be used, gathered from sources indicated in the following list.¹

Victual, per boll

1680-1703	£ 4-3-4	Rentals 1706-1720
1703-1706	£ 5-6-8	Factors' Accounts for 1703-1706
1706-1720	£ 4-3-4	Rentals
1725-1729	£ 5-6-8	Factors' Accounts
1735-1753	£ 5-6-8	Factors' Accounts
1754	£ 6-13-4	Final Judicial Rental

Butter, per stone

1703-1706	£ 2-0-0	Factors' Accounts 1703-1706
1735-1746	£ 2-8-0	Rental and Factors' Accounts
1752-1753	£ 2-6-8	Factors' Accounts
1754	£ 3-6-8	Final Judicial Rental

Cheese, per stone

1703-1706	£ 1-0-0	Factors' Accounts
1735-1746	£ 1-4-0	Rental and Factors' Accounts
1752-1753	£ 1-6-8	Factors' Accounts
1754	£ 1-13-4	Final Judicial Rental

Wedders

1703-1706	£ 1-0-0	Factors' Accounts
1735	£ 1-4-0	Rental
1752-1753	£ 1-6-8	Factors' Accounts
1754	£ 2-0-0	Final Judicial Rental

Marts

1680-1703	£ 8-13-4	Factor's Account for 1683
1703-1706	£10-0-0	Factors' Accounts for 1703-1706
1706-1720	£ 8-13-4	Rentals
1735-1753	£10-13-4	Rental and Factors' Accounts
1754	£16-0-0	Rental

This list shows several notable features, including the remarkable stability of converted prices for long periods. It would seem, for instance, that victual was calculated at the same rate for some fifty years. Prices of the various products did not increase by similar amounts; those of butter and cheese rose by two-thirds between 1680-1754, while those of wedders doubled. The relatively steep augmentations in that year raised the problem of how realistic produce conversion prices really were, and it was therefore decided to examine the relevance of converted prices in Harris by comparing them with prices shown elsewhere on the MacLeod estate, those contained in Gordon and Grant rentals, and finally with market prices shown in Baillie Stuart's

Letter Book. Results below unfortunately reflect the disparity of the different sorts of material, especially as regards dating, but are useful nonetheless.

Skye²

Victual	Pounds Scots
1706-1720	£ 4-3-4 per boll
1744	£ 5-6-8
1753	£ 4-3-4
1754	£ 5-6-8 augmented to £ 6-13-4
Kitchen	
1744	£ 3-12-0 or £ 1-16-0 per double stone £ 2-0-0 per stone
1754	£ 2-0-0 augmented to £ 3-0-0 or £ 5 double stone
Wedders	
1744	£ 1-6-8
1754	£ 1-6-8 augmented to £ 2-0-0
Parts	
1706-1720	£ 10-0-0
1724	£ 10-13-4
1744	£ 14-0-0
1754	£ 20-0-0

Glenslg³

Victual	
1735	£ 5-6-8 per boll
1754	£ 5-6-8
Kitchen	
1735	£ 1-4-0 per stone
1754	£ 2-0-0, £ 2-13-4 or £ 1-6-8 augmented to £ 4-0-0

Wedders

1735	£ 1-6-8
1754	£ 1-6-8 augmented to £ 2-13-4

Badenoch⁴

Victual

1640	£ 5-0-0 per boll
1642	£ 4-3-4
1655	£ 5-0-0 / £ 4-3-4
1677-1684	£ 5-0-0
1707, 1712	£ 5-0-0
1719	£ 5-0-0

Kitchen

1642	£ 3-0-0 per stone
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Wedders

1642	£ 2-0-0
1684	£ 1-6-8

Urquhart⁵

Victual

1660-1662	£ 6-13-4 per boll
1663-1664	£ 4-3-4

Kitchen

1663-1665	£ 3-6-8 per stone
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Marts

1665	£ 16-0-0
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McIntosh's Lands⁶ (Strathnairne, Badenoch & Lochaber)

Victual

1701	£ 5-0-0 per boll
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Kitchen

1701 £ 3-0-0 per stone

Wedders

1701 £ 1-10-0

Kincardine (Strathpey)⁷

Wedders

1684 £ 1-6-8

1736 £ 1-6-8

Castlelands of Inverness⁸

Victual

1706 £ 5-0-0 per boll

Baillie Stewart's Letter Book⁹

1718 Conversion price, Aberdeen = £ 4-3-4 per boll.

1718 Bolls of Meal bought for the Highlands at £4-6-8
and sold at £ 5-6-8.

1718 Butter £ 3-6-8, per stone.

Cheese £ 1-4-0

Meal £ 4-0-0

1723 'Best murray bear' sold from 8-8½ merks

1725 Meal 'disposed of' at 8 merks.

1727 Meal bought at 8 merks, and 'I can in the Isle of
Sky and the West Highlands gett 10 merk pr boll and
thanks'.

1728 Both meal and bear £ 6-13-4

1732 Meal £4-3-4.

1733 Meal £ 4-10-0 - £ 4-13-4.

1734 Meal £ 5-8-0 - £ 6-0-0.

1735 Meal £ 6-0-0

1738 Meal £ 6-0-0

The comparison shows that converted prices in Harris were realistic and furthermore that they reflected the economy within the MacLeod estate as a whole. Thus while kitchen and wadders were paid at the same rate in Skye and Harris, kitchen prices were lower and wadders higher in Glenelg, in keeping with the pastoral nature of the district, and Harris marts were consistently rated lower than those from Skye, again not surprisingly in view of the other evidence. Converted prices from Badenoch were equally stable between 1640 and 1719 and other prices from the estates show only minor variations; judging from the entries in the Letter Book landlords do not seem to have placed their tenants at a disadvantage by collecting their produce rents at a rate far removed from contemporary market values. The rate of 8 merks or £ 5-6-8 per boll which the Tutor and MacLeod used for victual compares very favourably both with the Aberdeen market price of £ 4-3-4 and Bailie Stuart's transactions averaging 8 merks or £ 5-6-8 between 1718 and 1734, though from that time they seem to have risen slightly.

In this connection a document in the MacLeod Papers Box 118b is illuminating in that the Tutor of MacLeod "does only charge himself with the money rent and victuall at 100 merks per chalder albeit by his last fitted account when Chamberlain for 1705 betwixt McLeods father and him, he charges the victuall at 8 merks per boll, which difference as to the price of the victuall amounts yearly to 669-3-4". Contullich also "charged himself" with 13 merks per mart, the price of a droving cow in Harris in the 1680's, though in previous Factors' Accounts they had appeared at 15 merks. This seeming discrepancy may well have been more apparent than real, given the unsettled conditions of the time, but it does raise the fascinating topic of how these conversion prices were used on the MacLeod estate, and how far they directly

concerned the tenantry. Unfortunately the evidence concerning produce rent payments is not as detailed as that concerning money rents, and for this reason the survey which follows will be as comprehensive as the material allows.

The clearest indication of the relationship between money and produce rents in the seventeenth century is the absence of any documents which record either payments or arrears of the latter type of rent corresponding to the 'silver rent' lists. We can, however, assume that payments were made to the Chamberlain, rather than directly to MacLeod, from Factors' Accounts of the 1680's and 1690's which show extraneous items paid by tenants.¹⁰

These accounts depict seventeenth century estate affairs on a scale seldom achieved by other documents. As well as money allowances, meal and drink were given to needy tenants, e.g. "mor 5 quarts acquavitie to John fferguson his funerall" (1683). The varied nature of the items also reflects the self-sufficient nature of the economy: they include horses, milk cows, barrels of salt, stones of tallow, haulks and "hyde ffor shoes to the laird". The majority of entries refer to payments for cloth which seems to have been produced on a fairly wide-spread scale. Besides 'cloth', plaids, linen and blanket are mentioned, and these items at least were paid for in the form of allowances offset against the rents, as appears in the following document.¹¹

"Ane account of cloth given to McLeod in accountt of ye

Renttes of ye heris be me Rorie Campbell at dun: Januarie

ye 28 1686

Merks sh d

Imprimis 54 ells of linine is

27 00 0

Item 7 ells of cloath is	9	00	0
Item a plaid is	<u>7</u>	<u>00</u>	<u>0</u>
Summa is	43	0	0

The above written accountt payed Isay be me

Rorie Campbell. "

These allowances could also have been offset against arrears, examples already noted being barrels of salt and plaids. It is difficult to assign names as written on these accounts to tenants shown in the rentals as most entries are very brief, but Alexander mc hormed vic neill (Kirktown), who paid 6 ells of cloth in 1689, Gillespig dow (South Copiphell) 4 ells in 1692, and donald mc sunlay vc illiphadrick (Rowdil) a hyd, also in 1692, can be identified with certainty. Their names, in addition to those of other inhabitants, suggest that these payments came from both large and small tenants alike. It seems unlikely though that the large tenants would manufacture cloth themselves; they probably passed it on from their sub-tenants. Payments for cloth are still shown in Factors' Accounts of the mid-eighteenth century, but were much fewer, and they were perhaps recorded in a document which has not survived.

Not until the early eighteenth century is there evidence to show exactly how produce rents were collected and put at the landlord's disposal. Our knowledge is gained for the most part from four documents, the first being "Ane accompt of all the wedders that were received ffrom the tennents in durinish and bracadill and Wattness in ye year of God 1706". 62 wedders were paid altogether; most tenants paid two but some as many as seven and eight. This document is especially interesting taken in conjunction with the Examiners' Observation in 1726 of the Contullich Accounts which stated that in "Cropt 1706, he (the Tutor) does not charge himself with the price of either butter, cheese or wedders neither this year or any of the subsequent

And account of what bolts stones and wedders were deliv-
ered by me Malcolm Campbell Chamberland of Harries
to McLeod's servants and others in his behalf for Crup
1706. at Raundals, Dunvegon, or else where, and some other
deturbements.

Jm: Spent when McLeod was in Harries at Raundals and Stalpy In the Collymontie	
Quint better thro' the stones these and twenty four wedders amounts to	237-00-00
II: Six gallons of Highland acquabito is	096-00-00
It: Given by me to the three people of the tane to go McLeod	
to Garbat by McLeod's order in ale and acquabito	005-00-00
It: To Florence men after by McLeod's order, besides their fair	
bolts & stones for Crup 1706	018-00-00
and to her 705 & wedders.	012-00-00
III To the widdon men we can by orders 2 stones 2 wedders	007-06-8
Item To two loadings of lumber from Stalpy by John Campbell to Dunvegon	051-00-00
3 bolts 12 stones & wedders for auger	
Item To two loadings of lumber from Harries 2 bolts 5 stones	012-03-4
It To shipping to Lornmadio for salt 2 fishals 2 stones	004-06-8
It To the repairing the houses of Raundals for McLeod's service	
(Consider the 30 marks money) two bolts four stones	025-00-00
It: To shipping sent to widdon Barnray lyster and 6 stones	005-03-7
Item Delivered to McLeod at Dunvegon July 1-06 2007	
Settling my account with McLeod 16 bolts mool 208:5:12 (1)	281-00-00
It Delivered the same day at Dunvegon 12 bolts four stones	
for McLeod took in widdon given up	096-00-00
It To the freight and charges of the boat that carried	021-06-8
It Three dyed of the Harries wedders before I bought them from	
McLeod 20 qrs I found dead in the island and I went home	030-00-00
Item Of m-larbo of butter & cheese for 705, and 9th widdon of	
the widdon of Kithen & stones butter and 14 stones cheese	045-00-00
It I brought to Dunvegon at two lynes to McLeod from Normand	
McGinnis 6 gallons acquabito	096-00-00
He payed to widdon being upon McLeod's account	030-00-00
	1073 0 8

This amount was taken in my instructions by the Father of McLeod for my intro-
mission at Chamberland with the Harries and 706 and the widdon given up by me
formerly, and I hereby declare that these articles were delivered at a widdon.

In witness whereof I have put these pills at Raundals the 15 day 1707 and
I likewise declare that there was 23 stones Kithen & 6 bolts lost in the widdon
-ing house in Raundals for 704, & 705 by myr and widdons. For the

Mal Campbell

The stones & bolts are by myr and widdons
73 above found 1190

years albeit the value of those casualties amounts yearly to 1761 mks 5-0 as appears by his last fitted accounts for 1705".¹⁴

Foodstuffs were obviously delivered in large quantities as appears by Malcome Campbell's account for 1706, a most valuable document reproduced on the previous page.¹⁵ Produce rents were clearly ferried across from Rowdil to Dunvegan and delivered to Murdo MacLeod, the landlord's butler.¹⁶ Amounts mentioned were quite substantial, and as they were transported in July, accounts being usually settled in May or June, it suggests a fairly heavy consumption of produce rents by the landlord. Discharges of 1704 and 1705 show items as "For the use of servants in the house" so that such payments were probably not for the sole use of MacLeod's family. The actual amounts stated - 86 bolls meal, 209 stones butter and cheese and 24 wedders, together with the fact that frequent six-gallon cargoes of acquavitie were shipped by MacLeod's brewer in Rowdil, suggest an extensive household who dined and drank liberally. Indeed, the general way of life is expressed in partial payments of services such as shippage and house-repairing in the form of produce rents which would no doubt be supplemented by liquid refreshments.

The document also supplies some information about the mechanics of produce rent payments. Evidently Malcolm Campbell collected the meal and kitchen rents and either sent it to Dunvegan or stored it in MacLeod's keeping house - for some considerable time, if the loss through 'myce and rottenness' in 1704 and 1705 can be accepted at face value. These years were ones of grave hardship for the tenantry, though, so even given the absence of normal methods of estate organisation this seems an astonishing state of affairs; perhaps the 'mice' had two feet. The item referring to the Harris wedders would appear

to suggest that Malcolm bought quite a number from Macleod, and that the Chamberlain had 'stated his accounts' with Macleod before the wedders - and, by inference, the rest of the produce rents - had actually been collected.

Many of the Factors' Accounts of this time also show the tremendous difference between 'theoretical' rental totals and payments actually received by the Chamberlain, e.g. the bear seed which Macleod took in "rests given up" and the arrears of kitchen rents - unsurprisingly when as early as 1698 a fairly substantial tenant was without a milk cow. The accounts had to balance, but in such conditions resort had to be made to the 'giving down' of enormous sums of arrears. Malcolm evidently did his best, as is seen in the following document, dated 1706.¹⁷

"I was owing to Ballance the soume of 425m-8-0 the number of 89 Bolls 60 stons 1 quarter Butter and 75 Stones 1 qtr cheese with the number of 189 wedders. All of which ballances I will depone was payed to the sd laird of Macleod by me att Dunvegan and Harries in Money, and accompts with some ease given by Mcleod to severall of the tennents after my stating accompts with him the receipts whereof he delayed till his return being his last words to me

Malcome Campbell "

Though Malcolm apparently paid the balance owing in money, it is most unlikely that he had been himself paid the produce rents, and he was probably not sorry to relinquish his onerous position to Rorie and Donald MacLeods in 1707.

The very detailed discharges which survive from these years are not repeated during the eighteenth century, and supplementary accounts only state the converted prices. It seems reasonable to suppose that the produce rents were still paid in kind to the Chamberlains until 1724, and there are three documents which indicate the general situation between 1735 and 1754. Two documents dated 1735 give a clear picture for that date and, though this was a year in which new tacks were set, they imply continuity of already existing arrangements. The first is entitled "Notes on Luskinders Wodsett right 1735"¹⁸, which contains a clause that he was obliged to pay MacLeod the four curry cows in kind, plus £6 mart money. Marts were an important item of the produce rents, so one would perhaps have expected this. The situation also applied to other forms of produce rents, though, according to the 'Act of Court' dated Aprile 29th 1735 shown on the following page. This document must have been considered so important that it was written by MacLeod himself, and is the only Baron Court Memorandum to have survived from this period.¹⁹ In it is stated very firmly that 'Airage & Carriage used and wont in aine of the Low Countrys' was to be paid by Tacksmen - the first expression of a compulsory service payment. The item that all who paid butter and cheese (some holdings traditionally paid only a money rent) must pay it of their own product is a reflection, firstly on the living standards of the sub-tenantry and secondly on the tactics employed by the 'middlemen'. The ensuing stipulation that widders had to be paid complete with their fleeces and that the 'undelivered' widdie was rated at 3/- sterling is also an indication of the value of the animal to MacLeod: the 1735 and 1736 Rentals stated the conversion price to be two shillings sterling. The tone of the Memorandum is altogether one of an attempt by MacLeod to remedy a situation where there were plenty of opportunities for Tacksmen to evade their economic responsibilities towards their landlord.

21. A. C.

Act of Court Aprile 29th
1735

Imp: that the possessors of Tacks are to make the Roads att their own Expence in such Manner as the Laird shall direct whenever he requires them he being always bound to furnish on his own Expence the proper Tools

2^{do} that they pay all sort of Airage & Carriage used & wont in any of the Low Countries to the different Mills to wh they are Thirled

3^{do} that every Town is obliged to have a good & sufficient Kyll & that no Man allow his Corn or Straw to be burnt instead of Kyll drying under forfeiture of his Tack except what may remain unkyldried after the first of May. ~
4^{to} that every Tacksmen pay his Tack in Kyldried & Shelled Corn under forfeit of his Tack ~

5^{to} that all Tacksmen who pay butter & Cheese pay it of their own Product & not what made by their Subtenants

6^{to} that all who pay wagers shall pay them at their year old Fliccar & for the future the Price of each Unelivered wagger shall be three Shillings Sterling 10th March 1735

The final piece of evidence dates from 1754 and a 'Rough proof of Tack' which included the clause "That in case he or his forsaid shall faill in payment of the forsaid money rent, victuall, Marts, Wedders, Butter and Cheese, Corn and Fodder and Hens or converted pryces thereof ... Then their present Tack shall be ipso facto void and null".²⁰ This document and the previous one suggest that in the mid-eighteenth century tenants could choose whether to pay their produce rents in kind, or sell them and pay the converted price as set by the landlord. These arrangements contrast remarkably with conditions on the Gordon estate of Badenoch, where converted prices were given for each individual tenant as early as 1642, and by 1655 the money rent from each holding included both 'maille and customes' and an allowance was only given "if in caice the said nobill marques or his baillie in his name have to Doe with customes", i.e. "if customes be requyirit".²¹

The Services on each estate also differed radically. In Badenoch, whether a tenant paid ariage and carriage or so many days' Services was indicated in the rentals of 1592 and 1612 respectively, and by the mid-seventeenth century duties were specified in some detail e.g. Dugall McPherson, tenant of the davach of Bellachroan, in 1655 paid "service usit and wont being four Long cariages, ane faice of peatis, Dressing and repairing of ane cupill of biginge, tylling ane boll oats, shawing with four huicks on day in hervest", which customs were worth in money £ 44-6-8.²² Conversely, the first mention of Services in the MacLeod rentals occurs in the proposed scheme of augmentations in 1754. At the end of the rentals for Duirinish, Waternish and Glenelg is the following Note:

"N.B. That tho the Hens wedders etc. be here stated and converted yet the personal Services prestable by the Tennents such as Arriages and

Carriages and other petty Services (cutting and winning and leading of Peats) are not mentioned nor anything yet stated for them and therefore these must be mentioned in the Tack and a value put upon them which may be £12 Scots for each £ 100 of Rent and so proportionally for a Lesser Rent or to pay and perform the Services in kind in the Masters Option.

To mind to give power to cut kelp as mentioned in the former Rental of Harries".²³

The note regarding Harris, shown on p.397, is phrased rather differently, indicating that the services were paid to the Chamberlain rather than to MacLeod, and that kelp making was definitely a 'privilege' rather than a right - of particular importance in Harris where the great majority of the holdings were situated on the coast.

Services in the final judicial rentals for 1754 appear to have been allocated on a different basis. Tenants in Bracadale, Quirinish and Waternish all paid 12 days Services each, converted at 6/- for each day, and loads of peats ranging from 60-120 per tenant, converted at 6d per load or 'lot'. In Minginish two of the three copies of the rental leave a space for Peats, but the columns are empty, and amounts of services due are not assigned to individual tenants. On the other hand, some, though not all, are described as due to pay "the services of carrying Deire and Baggage".

The final Harris rental is the only one which does not mention Services - and indeed, carrying deer and baggage would have been impracticable for most Harris tenants. Services might have been paid to the Chamberlain but in that case the inclusion in Factors' Accounts of such items as salaries to porters, ferriers and payments for the carrying of

venison from the forest of Harris is rather strange. There are no payments for winning peats for MacLeods houses in Rowdil in eighteenth century Factors' Accounts, but these were probably given in allowances versus the rents. It therefore seems that the Services paid to the chamberlain were probably unofficial, as befitting the insular society found in Harris; after all, what Services could the tenants of Pabbay for example have paid MacLeod? It could be that "Services" in this context would be expressed in the form of mutual hospitality - Pabbay was famous for the quality of its acquavitie, and numerous discharges show that whenever MacLeod made one of his fairly frequent visits to Harris vast amounts of liquor were involved.

It is hoped that the above background to rents in kind and the rates at which they were converted will help to explain the tables which follow, showing amounts and prices of all produce rents paid from Harris according to the various [redacted] rentals.

It can be seen that the tables are generally very similar: some holdings paid money rent 'allanerly' and these are indicated. The stability of produce rents due between 1680 and 1754, Ensay excepted, is in marked contrast to fluctuations in money rents though in the seventeenth century this part of the rental was probably organised on an informal basis between individual tenants and the Chamberlain. The stability underlines the fact that some holdings in Harris paid consistently higher sums than others and it was decided to see if amounts correlated with sums of money rents paid.

Victual

Drumfuint, S Copiphell, Hushinish+Scarp, Scalpay,
Finnbay+Kondil excepted

680-1698 = 6m-3.4 // 4-3-4 per boll
1701-1735 = 8m // 5-6-8 per boll
1725-6 mD Berran's; Teynd actual: 4-3-4 per boll
1754 = £6-13-4 per boll

	1680	1684	1685	1697	1698	1701	1702	1703	1724	1735	1754
Kirk's	62 16 12	11 21	133 6 8	38	145 16 8	34 4	34 4	35 4	189 6 8	234 13 4	293 6 8
Wings	2 2 11	66 13 4	8 8	13	54 3 4	11 4	11 4	11 4	35 2	44	44
Middle	1 7	336 8	1 7	12	50 0 0	12	12	12	189 6 8	234 13 4	293 6 8
North	12	50 0 0	12	12	50 0 0	12	12	12	189 6 8	234 13 4	293 6 8
Exon	4 32 16	216 13 4	12 4 12	46	191 13 4	48	27	35 2	189 6 8	234 13 4	293 6 8
N. Cap	5	20 16 8	5	5	20 16 8	5	5	5	26 13 4	26 13 4	33 6 8
S. Cap	5	20 16 8	5	5	20 16 8	5	3	5	26 13 4	26 13 4	33 6 8
N. Scar	10 2	43 15 0	10 2	9 42	45 16 8	2	2	2	10 13 4	42 13 4	53 6 8
M. Scar	3	12 10 0	3	3	12 10 0	3	3	3	16 0 0	16 0 0	16 0 0
M. Scar	2	22 18 4	2	5	20 16 8	3	3	3	16 0 0	16 0 0	16 0 0
Little	1 4	34 7 4	1 4	6	25 0 0	6	6	6	32 0 0	32 0 0	32 0 0
Big	2 2	10 8 4	2 2	6	25 0 0	6	6	6	32 0 0	32 0 0	32 0 0
Gull	5	20 16 8	5	6	25 0 0	6	6	6	32 0 0	32 0 0	32 0 0
Loon	7	29 3 4	7	6	25 0 0	6	6	6	32 0 0	32 0 0	32 0 0
P. Loon	12	50 0 0	12	6	25 0 0	6	6	6	32 0 0	32 0 0	32 0 0
Loon	4	16 13 4	4	6	25 0 0	6	6	6	32 0 0	32 0 0	32 0 0
Loon	18	75 0 0	18	6	25 0 0	6	6	6	32 0 0	32 0 0	32 0 0
Loon	12	50 0 0	12	6	25 0 0	6	6	6	32 0 0	32 0 0	32 0 0
Total	107	716 13 4	107	156	650 0 0	156	121 2	128	581 6 8	616 0 0	716 13 4

Kitchen

1680-1703 butter $\frac{1}{2}$ per stone, cheese 20¢. kitchen 30¢.
 1724-1735 butter: $\frac{1}{2}$ 8-0, cheese $\frac{1}{11}$ 6-0
 1754 butter $\frac{1}{13}$ 6-5, cheese $\frac{1}{11}$ 13-4

Kitchen, half butter 'Butter'
 half cheese
 Stones
 1685

Hushwist + Scarp, Scalpay, Fensbary + Rouxli excepted.

Butter
 Cheese

	1680	1684	1685	1697	1698	1701	1702	1703	1724	1735	1754
Kirkcubbin	22 33 0 0	22 33 0 0	22 33 0 0	24 36 0 0	24 36 0 0	25 37 10 0	25 37 10 0	24 36 0 0		14 33 12 0	14 46 13 4
Lingay	8 12 0 0	8 12 0 0	8 12 0 0	8 12 0 0	6 9 0 0	5 8 5 0	6 9 15 0	6 9 0 0	15 36 0 0		
Middletown	4 6 0 0	4 6 0 0	4 6 0 0	10 15 0 0	11 16 10 0	9 14 5 0	10 13 0 0	10 15 0 0	6 7 4 0	2 4 16 0	2 6 13 4
Northtown	12 18 0 0	12 18 0 0	12 18 0 0								
Ensay-Eile	32 48 0 0	32 48 0 0	32 48 0 0	28 42 0 0			17 26 5 0	24 36 0 0			
Drumfuit	2 3 0 0	2 3 0 0	2 3 0 0	2 3 0 0	2 3 0 0	2 3 0 0	2 3 0 0	2 3 0 0			
S Cophnell	4 6 0 0	4 6 0 0	4 6 0 0	4 6 0 0	4 6 0 0	4 6 0 0	5 7 10 0	6 9 0 0	3 7 4 0	8 19 4 0	8 26 13 4
N Cophnell	10 15 0 0	10 15 0 0	10 15 0 0	10 15 0 0	10 15 0 0	10 15 0 0	10 15 0 0	10 15 0 0	5 12 0 0	5 6 0 0	5 8 6 8
S Scarsta				8 12 0 0	8 12 0 0	8 12 0 0	4 6 0 0	4 6 0 0	4 10 16 0	4 9 12 0	4 13 6 8
N Scarsta	13 19 10 0	13 19 10 0	13 19 10 0	4 12 24 0 0	14 21 0 0	4 6 0 0	4 6 0 0	4 6 0 0	6 14 8 0	6 14 8 0	8 26 13 4
Meikle Borrow	4 6 0 0	4 6 0 0	4 6 0 0	4 6 0 0	4 6 0 0	4 6 0 0	4 6 0 0	4 6 0 0	2 4 16 0	4 10 16 0	
Middle Borrow	13 19 10 0	4 6 0 0	5 8 5 0	9 13 10 0	9 13 10 0	6 9 0 0	6 9 0 0	6 9 0 0	2 4 5 8 0		7 25 0 0
Little Borrow	11 16 10 0	11 16 10 0	11 16 10 0	8 12 0 0	8 12 0 0	8 12 0 0	8 12 0 0	8 12 0 0	3 7 4 0	3 7 4 0	
Hengst	5 7 10 0	5 7 10 0	5 7 10 0						2 4 16 0	2 4 16 0	2 6 13 4
Serlebst	12 18 0 0	12 18 0 0	12 18 0 0						2 4 16 0	2 4 16 0	2 6 13 4
Lisking	14 21 0 0	14 21 0 0	14 21 0 0						6 14 8 0	6 14 8 0	
Publie	16 24 0 0	16 24 0 0	16 24 0 0						8 19 4 0	8 19 4 0	6 20 0 0
Raa	12 18 0 0	12 18 0 0	12 18 0 0						6 14 8 0	12 28 16 0	5 16 13 4
Eile	28 42 0 0	28 42 0 0	28 42 0 0						8 19 4 0	8 19 4 0	8 26 13 4
Shord	16 24 0 0	16 24 0 0	16 24 0 0	16 24 0 0	16 24 0 0	16 24 0 0	16 24 0 0	16 24 0 0	8 19 4 0	8 19 4 0	8 26 13 4
Total	23 457 0 0	23 457 0 0	23 457 0 0	147 220 10 0	116 174 0 0	102 153 0 0	118 177 0 0	124 186 0 0	79 159 12 0	85 205 4 0	72 201 13 4

Wedders

Hushinish+Scarp, Scalpay,
Firstbay+Rowdill excepted.

1680-1703 = 11-0-0 (20f)

1724-1735 = 11-4-0

1754 = 12-0-0

	1680	1684	1685	1697	1698	1701	1702	1703	1724	1735	1754
Kirktown	16	16 0 0	16	15 0 0	15	17 0 0	17	16 0 0			14 28 0 0
Lingay	6	6 0 0	8	8 0 0	5	3 0 0	3	3 0 0	15 18 0 0	16 19 4 0	2 4 0 0
Middletown	4	4 0 0	4	-	-	-	-	-			
Northtown	6	6 0 0	6	6 0 0	6	6 0 0	6	6 0 0			
Ersgaytine	22	22 0 0	22	22 0 0	-	-	17 1/2 17 10 0	14 14 0 0			
Brimfint	2	2 0 0	2	2 0 0	2	2 0 0	2	2 0 0			
Scapichell	4	4 0 0	4	4 0 0	4	4 0 0	5	6 0 0	6 7 4 0	10 12 0 0	10 20 0 0
N Copichell	6	6 0 0	6	6 0 0	6	6 0 0	6	6 0 0	6 7 4 0		
S Scarish	-	-	-	4 4 0 0	4	4 0 0	4	4 0 0	6 7 4 0	4 16 0	4 8 0 0
N Scarish	9 1/2	9 10 0	6	6 0 0	7	2 0 0	2	2 0 0	8 9 12 0	8 9 12 0	8 16 0 0
Alittle Borrow	3	3 0 0	3	3 0 0	3	3 0 0	3	3 0 0	3 3 12 0	6 7 4 0	
Alittle Borrow	13	13 0 0	4	5 0 0	5	4 0 0	4	4 0 0	3 3 12 0		9 18 0 0
Little Borrow	11	11 0 0	11	6 0 0	6	4 0 0	4	4 0 0	3 3 12 0	3 12 0	
Hargisbost	5	5 0 0	5	5 0 0	-	-	-	-	4 1/2 5 8 0 4	4 16 0	4 8 0 0
Sailebost	8	8 0 0	8	8 0 0	-	-	-	-	8 9 12 0	8 12 0	-
Lustintyre	6	6 0 0	6	6 0 0	-	-	-	-			-
Table	8	8 0 0	8	8 0 0	-	-	-	-	12 14 8 0	12 14 8 0	9 18 0 0
Roa	6	6 0 0	6	6 0 0	-	-	-	-	6 7 4 0	6 7 4 0	5 10 0 0
Ene	12	12 0 0	12	12 0 0	-	-	-	-	12 14 8 0	12 14 8 0	12 24 0 0
Stand	6	6 0 0	6	6 0 0	6	6 0 0	6	6 0 0	6 7 4 0	6 7 4 0	6 12 0 0
Total	153 1/2	153 10 0	143	143 0 0	143	143 0 0	143 7 9 10 0	143 7 6 0 0	98 1/2 118 4 0	95 114 0 0	83 166 0 0

Marts

Lingay, Middletown, Northtown, S. Coppshell,
 Sr. N. Scorsio, Scalpay, Finsday, Rowell, Excepted.

1680-1703 = 13 m 13-13-4
 1724-1735 = 10-13-4
 1754 = 46

Figures in brackets: actual amount of mart money
 mentioned in the rentals

	1680	1684	1685	1697	1698	1701	1702	1703	1724	1735	1754
Kirktown	1 8 13 4	1 8 13 4	1 8 13 4	-	1 8 13 4	1 8 13 4	1 8 13 4	1 8 13 4	-	-	-
Ensaye Ene	1 8 13 4	1 8 13 4	1 8 13 4	-	-	-	-	1 8 13 4	-	-	-
Drumfunt	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	(1 6 8)	-	-	-
N. Coppshell	1 8 13 4	1 8 13 4	1 8 13 4	-	1 8 13 4	1 8 13 4	1 8 13 4	1 8 13 4	1 10 13 4	1 10 13 4	1 16 0 0
McKieboran	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	(1 6 8)	-	-	-
Modella Boran	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	(2 13 4)	-	-	-
Little Boran	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	(2 13 4)	-	-	-
Hargislast	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	(3 6 8)	-	-
Seilebast	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	(2 13 4)	-	-
Lustintyre	1 8 13 4	1 8 13 4	1 8 13 4	-	-	-	-	-	1 10 13 4	1 10 13 4	-
Hughishu Scarp	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1 10 13 4	-	-
Pablie	1 8 13 4	1 8 13 4	1 8 13 4	-	-	-	-	-	1 10 13 4	1 10 13 4	-
Raa	1 8 13 4	1 8 13 4	1 8 13 4	-	-	-	-	-	1 10 13 4	1 10 13 4	1 16 0 0
Ene	2 17 6 8	2 17 6 8	2 17 6 8	-	-	-	-	-	1 10 13 4	1 10 13 4	1 16 0 0
Strand	1 8 13 4	1 8 13 4	1 8 13 4	-	1 8 13 4	1 8 13 4	1 8 13 4	1 8 13 4	1 10 13 4	-	-
Total	9 78 0 0	9 78 0 0	9 78 0 0	8 69 6 8	3+ 60 13 4	3 26 0 0	3 26 0 0	4 34 13 4	7 74 13 4	5 53 6 8	3 48 0 0

Holdings which paid substantially more than others were:

Victual	- Kirktown, Lingay, Ensay & Eile, Eile in Taransay.
Kitchen	- Kirktown, Ensay & Eile, Eile in Taransay.
Wedders	- Kirktown, Ensay & Eile, Middle Borrow, Eile in Taransay.

It is thus clear that holdings did not 'specialise' in one type of produce rent payment: if they were capable of paying a high victual rent, for example, they could also pay large numbers of other rents. This is an important point, since it shows that the Harris economy was neither predominantly pastoral or agricultural, in keeping with the trend shown in the late sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.

That Kirktown, Ensay and Eile in Taransay enjoyed above-average fertility is indicated from other sources. A comparison of money rents paid and land valuation shows that Ensay and Eile paid high rates throughout the period, while that of Kirktown, the largest holding on the island of Pabbay, was comparatively low suggesting that produce rents had perhaps been the major constituent of the landlord's income from the island in the seventeenth century. However, actual amounts of money rents from these holdings were also above average - in 1680 only Hushinish and Scarp and Rowdil paid higher sums. Yet Kirktown was frequently in arrears, and Ensay and Eile found some difficulty in paying their rents due.

This fact is also quite important since the tables show that some holdings paid either no produce rents at all, or only low amounts: those in the latter group are as follows:

Victual	- North Copiphell, South Scarsta, Meikle and Middle Borrows, Horgisbost, Seilebost, Ras.
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Kitchen - Middletown, Drimfuint, South Copiphell, Meikle
 Borrow, Horgisbost.

Wedders - Middletown, Drimfuint, South Copiphell, Meikle
 Borrow, Horgisbost.

Yet there is nothing to suggest that these holdings were potentially less productive: rent/valuation rates and amounts of money rent paid show that some, e.g. Middletown and Horgisbost, had little or no difficulty in paying their rents and only South Copiphell found great difficulty. One therefore wonders why there was such a disparity between amounts of produce rents paid. There must obviously have been special reasons e.g. in the cases of Hushinish and Scarp and Scalpay holdings which possessed large amounts of pastoral land; their much higher than average rents may possibly have included converted prices of rents in kind.

Perhaps the clearest picture of the fertility of Harris is gained from a comparison of produce rent totals with those of Skye and Glenelg. Owing to lack of material the rentals used for Skye date from 1744 and those for Harris and Glenelg from 1735.²⁴

	Victual (bolls)	Kitchen (Stones)	Wedders	Parts
Bracadale	74½	119	62	8
Duirinish	55	81	57	5
Minginish	86½	104½	92	1
Waternish	91¾	95½	81	3
Glenelg	45	95	43½	-
Harris	115½	122½	95	5

From this comparison it can be seen that, in spite of some holdings paying only minimal amounts of produce rents in Harris, the overall

total was still higher than in any other part of the estate, and a faint remnant of late sixteenth century conditions can perhaps be seen in the greatest contrast between rents - that of the difference of $24\frac{1}{2}$ bolls between Harris and Minginish, which in turn paid the highest victual rent in Skye.

The description of 1595 would further appear to be authenticated by the comparison between produce rents from Harris and the rest of the estate. The tables clearly portray a similarity in development in that total amounts of rents in kind at the end of the period were slightly less than half those of 1680, yet amounts paid from Skye remained stable between 1724 and 1754, and as far as one can tell were equally so in 1706. Since the majority of holdings in Harris paid remarkably similar produce rents, it follows that reductions were caused by changes amongst a minority of holdings - illustrated in the individual tables wherein each item of produce rent was affected most by changes in the same holdings of Pabbay, Ensay, the three Borrows and the Wadset lands of Seilebost and Luskintyre. The disappearance of rents in kind from Ensay is probably connected with the holding's unsettled tenant pattern during the eighteenth century (p. 231); as to the other holdings, it is surely significant that amounts of rents in kind decreased following amalgamation of the holdings concerned. For instance, kitchen rents of Pabbay totalled 46 stones in 1680, and despite the absence of Middleton's rents from 1697 a total of 16 stones in 1754 must have been well below potential payments. Similar reductions occurred in the three Borrows ($28-7\frac{1}{2}$) and Seilebost and Luskintyre ($26-0$).

Since one would have expected that potential amounts of produce rents payments would have increased rather than diminished over the period, this reduction is significant. However, the actual reduction in

the landlord's income did not correspond to the decline in amounts, since the latter was offset by increased conversion prices. Thus the overall income from marts and kitchen rents decreased by about a third, that of wedders increased slightly and the victual price total was down a quarter. The fact that the number of wedders remained stable may have been an indication of their importance to the economy - as witness the reference to them in the Baron Court Memorandum of 1735. MacLeod was clearly desirous of marketing their wool, if not the whole animal, and the payment of butter and cheese by the sub-tenantry suggests consumption within the estate.

The criterion of value to the landlord would not seem to hold true in the case of marts. Walker in 1764 observed that about 100 salted cattle were exported from Harris yearly, yet in 1754 only 3 marts were due from the tenantry. One can only conclude that money rents were adjusted accordingly. In this context, the table on the following page puts produce rents into perspective with money rents, in that it shows that in 1754 certain holdings paid a higher total than in 1680. These comprised the Copiphells, North Scarsta, Horgisbost, holdings in Taransay and Strond, the rents from which had remained largely stable: produce rents to a lower value than in 1680 were paid by the amalgamated holdings. In 1680 produce rents of about half the holdings were equally valuable (at early eighteenth century prices) as the money rents; in 1754 only those on the islands of Pabbay and Taransay were comparable. The overall proportion of produce rents to money rents in the two years is thus a clear indication that the trend observed in the comparison of the 1595 description of produce rents paid from Harris and those paid in 1680 continued over the period 1680-1754.

For money rents to have increased therefore the tenants must have

Money & Produce Rents, Harris Townships 1680 & 1754

Townships	1680		Produce Rents = Victual, Kitchen, Wedders & Marts.	1754	
	1	2 Money Rents Incl. Cess & Mart Money		Money Rents Cess & Mart Money Included	Produce Rents
	1	116-13-4			
Kirktown	2	140- 0-0	203-10-0	164-10-0	378-13-4
		40- 0-0			
Lingay		48- 0-0	84-13-4		
		29- 6-8			
Middletown		37- 6-8	43- 6-8	63- 6-8	
		53- 6-8			
Northtown		65- 6-8	74- 0-0		
		173- 6-8			
Ensay & Eile		190-13-4	295- 6-8	271- 3-4	-
		26-13-4			
Drumfuint		30-13-4	5- 0-0		
		48- 6-8			
S. Copiphell		58- 6-8	10- 0-0	166-13-4	104- 6-8
		66-13-4			
N. Copiphell		74-13-4	50-10-0		
		86-13-4			
N. Scarsta		102-13-4	72-15-0	137-13-4	96- 0-0
		86-13-4			
Meikle Borrow		95- 6-8	21-10-0		
		55- 6-8			
Middle Borrow		66- 6-8	55- 8-4	202- 3-4	89-13-4
		55- 0-0			
Little Borrow		66- 0-0	61-17-6		
		48- 0-0			
Hornisbost		58- 3-4	22-18-4	58- 6-8	34-13-4
		80- 0-0			
Seilebost		88- 0-0	46-18-8		
		53- 6-8			
Luskintyre		61- 6-8	64-16-8	746-13-4	-
		186-13-4			
Hushinish & Scarp		200- 0-0	-		
		80- 0-0			
Pablie		90-13-4	90-13-4	72-13-4	108- 0-0
		66-13-4			
Raa		74-13-4	49- 6-8	58- 0-0	77-13-4
		106-13-4			
Eile		117- 6-8	155- 0-0	141- 6-8	160- 0-0
		73- 6-8			
Scalpay		76- 0-0	-	266-13-4	-
		53- 6-8			
Strond		66-13-4	88-13-4	202-13-4	132- 0-0
		1586- 0-0			
TOTAL RENTS		1808- 3-4	1496- 2-6	2621- 3-4	1229- 0-0

channelled their efforts into increasing their cattle stocks; the payment of 'marts' in the Macleod rentals is an illustration of the singular nature of this particular form of rent. They seem to have been allocated on a basis that did not depend either on agricultural conditions or amounts of rent paid - for example Scalpay with its extensive pastureland in the forest of Harris, or Seilebost which paid a higher than average rent. Furthermore, while money rents increased, numbers of marts declined. Unfortunately there is no document in the Macleod papers which supplies specific details of the relationship between money rents and the payment of cattle. We can only infer the general picture from various sources, themselves all too few. However, there are enough from the end of the seventeenth century to supply a fairly definite pattern of how the droving system worked on the Macleod estate.

The earliest information is contained in "Ane noat of necessarie debursements in the yier 1670", a list of expenses incurred en route from Skye to Stirling and Falkirk.²⁵ It included payments for eighteen pairs of shoes 'Bought to the Companie', several 'fies (wages) of four pounds and upwards Scots plus £ 2-9-4 for "two men yet turned home", so there must have been quite a number of drovers. On page two of the same 'noat' is the earliest list of rent payments by individual tenants on the estate, dating from some thirteen years before the Skye silver rent lists, as follows:

'And account of what Rorie mc Leoid hes gotten of the rent in the yer 1670

It received be him from malcolme mc Iver	07-00-00
" " " " " malcolm mc ean vic neill	20-00-00
" " " " " dod mc william	20-00-00
" from the officer	20-00-00
It received be him from Ewin mc yoill vic ean	05-00-00
" " " " " murdo mc rorie	10-00-00
" " " " " John roy mc yoill vic ean veill	11-00-00
" " " " " finlay mc illiffadrik	57-00-00

Item what he receive in brakadill

Item received be him from patrik mc kaskle	20-00-00
" " " " " the widow in ulines calort	11-00-00
" " " " " marten meir yr	8-00-00
" " " " " the officer yr	10-00-00
" " " " " dounkan mc illichallum vic ean	05-00-00
" " " " " dod mc finlay vic vuyrchie voir	4-00-00

Summa	208-00-00
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The juxtaposition of the two items, and the fact that the payments were in 'round figures' seems unlikely to have been coincidental.

A reasonable hypothesis would appear to be that these tenants had paid these sums to Rorie by means of the journey South. The assumption is strengthened by an important document of this period - a drover's contract of 1682.²⁶

"Att Dunvegane the twentie eight day of aprile 1682 yeirs. It is contracted and agried betwixt John Macleoid of Dunvegane and Alex^r Macleoid in Culenduine that forasmuch as the said John Macleoid is heirby to pay to the sd Alex^r Macleoid for his payns in dryving his Cowes to mercats in manner aftermentioned the soume of foure hundreth & fyftie merks Scots And lykewise upone his own charges to furnish him with a sufficient number of men and all other necessare for dryving the saids Cowes (the said Alex^r his personall charges allenarlie excepted) Therefore the said Alex^r Macleoid obliges him to uplift the haill Cowes payable for the John Macleoid his rent and dryve the same to the ordinary mercats upone the hazard of the said John Macleoid and to use his outmost endeavoure that noe part of the said rent be left in the tennents hands. And to make compt reckoning and payment to him of whatsoever soumes the saids Cowes shall be sold for at the sds mercats. And it is heirby provyded that in case it shall happen that the said Alex^r Macleoid shall finde sufficient security before the uplifting of the sds Cowes for payment of the pryce thereof That in that case it shall be leisume to him to uplift the same at seventeen merks the peice in the isle of Sky and eighteen merks the peice in Glenelg. And that upone his own hazard without any sallary to be payed him by the said John Macleoid. In witnes qrof both the saids parties have subscribed thir presents with their hands day moneth yeir of god & place respectively aboveswritten. Before thir witness Donald Macleoid of Grisernish and Rory Macleoid of Hammir. "

The salient points would appear to be as follows. 'Outmost endeavoure that noe part of the said rent be left in the tennents hands' being required to uplift the cattle suggests that tenants took their beasts to the stances to be collected by the drover. From then on the cattle belonged

to Macleod and any losses were his responsibility; similarly, whatever sums the cows fetched at the markets belonged to Macleod alone - "to make compt reckoning and payment to him". Indeed, an obligation written some weeks later reads as follows:²⁷ "I Alex^r McLeod in Cullendowin doeth hereby bind & oblige me to returne to the Laird of McLeod for my intromission wt his rent in this instant yeir the full pryce of the goods yt shall be sold by me or discharges fra his creditors as he shall order me in witnes qreof thir presents ar writtin & subscribed wt my hand at Dunvegan the first of May 1682

Alex^r McLeod. "

If Alexander was in possession of enough means to pay for the cattle before their sale at the markets - the phrase 'it is heirby provyded that in case it shall happen' doesnot suggest that it happened very often - he could pay Macleod seventeen merks for cattle in Skye and eighteen merks for those in Glenelg, and get what he could for them, the income being his. There was some risk involved in such a transaction though, since the cattle would vary in quality, tenants by the very nature of things giving their weakest beasts, and losses and profits would depend on the success of the journey and market prices.

The contract raises some interesting queries, of which the first is the landlord-drover-tenant nexus concerning the price of beasts. Milk cows were 17 merks in 1670 and 16 merks in 1694, and one would expect the price of droving cows to be lower than this: at the end of the seventeenth century it was 15½ merks, increasing from thenceforward (see below). The phrase "it shall be leisume (lawful) to him to uplift the same at seventeen merks the peice" could have two connotations. The drover could pay Macleod seventeen or eighteen merks for every cow that he uplifted (a record presumably being kept by the Factor) and the tenant would receive a rent allowance to the value decided by

Macleod -- produce rent conversion prices showed that it was likely to be reasonable. Thus the tenant would take no part in the transaction.

On the other hand, the phrase might mean that the drover was permitted to offer tenants the stated sums for their beasts whereupon they would be paid by him in cash or in bills redeemable after the trysts. They would then pay their rents in money, which would account for receipts in the Factors' Accounts for sums e.g. 1m-2-7d. Whatever the method, tenants and landlord alike were dependent upon market values. If the drover could provide enough security, Macleod saved 450 merks plus expenses during the journey (in 1670 about 160 merks) but on the other hand the drover might get a better price than the agreed one, and when hundreds of cattle were involved the difference could be substantial.

Cattle from Harris are not mentioned in the contract: prices for cattle from the island were considerably lower than those for Skye, possibly owing to the additional expense in ferrying them across to the mainland. Nevertheless, most of the information for this period refers to Harris of which the following document is an especially helpful example.²⁷

"A list of ye cows received in ye Hearish in 83 of Crop 82 & in pairt of 83.

dod mc kenzie 5 cows at 13 mer per peice is	65
willame morisone 4	52
kenneth morisone 2	26
Nine vic persone 4	52

finlay mc ean vic innish 3	39
allister mc illichalum oige 2	26
angus mc illespick 2	26
ean mc allister avinich 3	39
angus mc coill vic Ewine 1	13
angus mc allane 1	13
finlay mc finlay 9	117
Ewine mc phersone on given to a Lues man at	<u>13</u>
Summa	482

Item received in money ye Cesse being payed before 251

I John Makleoid grants me to have received ye above writn particulars
wt ye sume of money. "

This account is the only one of its kind. A correlation between it and the list of silver rents paid in 1683 shows that the payments of Nine vic phersone, finlay mc ean vic innish in Luskintyre, and angus mc allane in Rowdil corresponded exactly or almost exactly. Furthermore, the difference of 1m-4sh-4d between the price Nine vic pherson got for her cattle and the silver rents she paid was carried over into the rests of 1684, 60 merke being altered into 61m-4-4, suggesting that in fact only 52 merke had been paid. As none of the silver payments for these tenants were lower than amounts shown in the above list, it would seem that a definite correspondence is indicated between cows received by the Chamberlain and receipts of silver rent.

Comparative numbers of cattle uplifted from the tenants are revealing; angus mcallane almost paid his silver rent with the one cow, while angus mc illespick paid only 26 merke in this way of the actual 130 merke silver rent shown as paid. This tenant apart though, the numbers

of cows more or less correspond to the size of holding. Thus the sum of nine cattle paid by finlay mc finlay, the Chamberlain of Harris, is significant and helps to explain why he had no rests at all during his tenure of North Scarsta. It argues a considerable stock of cattle - and we are again fortunate in that a document giving some indication of his resources is extant. On finlay's death his mother Rachell took control of the holding, but evidently had some difficulty in paying the rents. That there is no record of any payment in either 1686 and 1687 is therefore most probably connected with the following.²⁹

"Ane List of the cowes of diverse sorts uplifted ffrom Rachell Campbell relict to umqll ffinlay Campbell Jully 1 1686

Item eighteine milk cowes four of qch not as yet calved	18
Item ten mercat cowes	10
Item six two yeir old cowes	06
Item eight three yeir old cowes	08
Item fyve stirks	<u>05</u>
	47

This group of documents is unique amongst the MacLeod papers, in marked contrast to the meagre nature of evidence after this date. There is sufficient to show, however, that while conversion prices of produce rents were stable for lengthy periods, cattle prices fluctuated from year to year, suggesting sensitivity to market prices:³⁰

1698 Drover's Contract still in force in 1708 - Droving Cow	15m-6-8
1700 (Glenalg) - Cow	20m-0-0
1702 Rests - Cow	14m-0-0

1706 (Skye) - Mart	15 merks
1706 (Harris)- Mart	13 merks
1706 - Droving Cow	13 merks
1707 - Droving Cow	16 merks
1707 - Cow	18 merks

That the difference of half a merk per cow was regarded as significant is an indication of the importance of cattle to the economy. Unfortunately it is impossible to correlate the progress of the income from cattle with increases in rent owing to the lack of evidence - apart from a document referring to black cattle being used as surety in 1726 and the receipt for cattle received from Berneray and Luskintyre no relevant papers have been discovered until those which date from the late 1740's and 1750's³¹. Possibly the most helpful document from this period is one which constitutes the mid-eighteenth century version corresponding to Rorie MacLeod's account of 1670:³²

"Acctt Cash Arising from Cattle received by Waterstein in September 1753 on Acctt of MacLeods Rents.

From Durinish	£	sh	d
John MacLeod Feolig	73	18	4
Lewrgill Farquhar Bethun	27	18	-
Ramsaig	27	14	-
Murdoch Doo pein More	5	4	-
Normand Ferguson Colboest	69	5	8
	144	-	-

From Waternish

Donald Macneil Trumpan Beg	113	8	-
----------------------------	-----	---	---

From Brakadale	£	sh	d
Donald MacCaskle Ose	16	14	-
John MacLeod do	48	-	-
Glenbrakadale	72	-	-
Alex ^r Shaw Somerdale	<u>67</u>	9	-
	204	3	-

From Minginish

John MacCaskle Ruindunan	252	14	4
Rory MacLeod Satiran	21	12	-
John MacLeod little Carboest	23	13	2
Malcom MacCaskle Ballinture	124	3	8
Donald Og Brunole	10	6	4
Donald Stuart Lachiclerach	17	6	8
John MacLeod Drynoch	<u>210</u>	-	-
	£ 659	16	2
Totalls	£1121	7	2

Drynoch 11 September 1753 Acknowledges the above sumes amounting to One thousand One Houndred & Twenty One pound seven shillings & Two pennys Scots Money wch I'm to pay the Laird of McLeod or his Order

Normand McLeod. "

Cows and marts at this time appear to have been about £10 - £15 each, so in a comparison of cattle stocked and money rents paid, according to this receipt small tenants in Skye were still very much in evidence - seven paid less than the price of two cattle. On the other hand, the list shows that at least two, and possibly four or five, tenants paid cattle to a value far in excess of their rents, suggesting resources akin to those of the Chamberlain of Harris in the seventeenth century. The heading and acknowledgment to this account is a tribute to the way

in which traditional methods still applied in the mid-eighteenth century and its tenor an illustration of the circumscribed nature of the MacLeod estate economy.

NOTES TO CHAPTER 6

1. Factors' Accounts for 1703-1706 - MacLeod Papers Box 26
Rentals 1706-1720 - Box 22A
Factors' Accounts 1725/6 - 1753 - Boxes 17B(3), Boxes 17C and 17G
1754 Final Judicial Rental - Boxes 17I, 22A
2. MacLeod Papers Box 22A
3. Ibid.
4. Gordon Muniments
1640 - GD 44/27/3
1642 - GD 44/51/747
1655 - GD 44/51/732
1677-84 - GD 128/35/4
1707 - GD 44/51/732
1712 - GD 44/27/3
1719 - GD 44/25/2

5. Grant Papers

1660-1665 - GD 248/39/2

A document in this box referring to rentals of the 1660's and entitled 'Charge The Laird of Grant Agsd The Tutor of Grant' is unique in the variety of converted prices that it shows. No other information on such a scale is available for contemporary Inverness-shire estates, and for that reason the prices are given herewith:

boll victual	10 merks
butter	4 lib per stone/5 lib per stone
mart	16 lib
oxen	20 lib peice
Cow & calf	16 lib
2 yr olds	10 merks per peice

Cowes wanting Calves	12 lib per peice
8 year olds	5 lib per peice
Old and young wedders	40sh per peice
Young wedders	33sh 4d per peice
Work horses	30 lib per peice
boll corn & straw	6 lib
Customs Goose out of	
other areas	13-4d per peice
Customs henns & Capones	4/- per peice
Stone of tallow	40 lib per stone

Each tenant payes 10 marks per aughtinpart in pleace of service plus £10 of grassum from every aughtenpart for ilk 5 years tack.

6. Fraser-Mackintosh Collection

1701 GD 128/11

7. Gordon Muniments

1684, 1736 GD 44/51/742

8. Gordon Muniments

1706 GD 44/51/734

9. Scottish History Society, 1915

1718 - pp.69, 75, 78, 79

1723 - p.213

1725 - p.222

1727 - pp.273, 277

1728 - p.299, 303

1732-3 - p.373

1734 - p.380

1735 - p.388

1738 - p.416

10. MacLeod Papers
 - 1680, 1684 - Box 22.
 - 1687, 1688, 1689, 1692 - Box 25b.
 - 1688, 1690, 1692 - Box 17Ac.
 - 1691 - Box 15F.
11. MacLeod Papers Box 17Ac.
12. The Factor's Accounts for 1689 and 1692 show that MacLeod owed money to Rorie Campbell for 28 lbs and 30 lbs respectively of prunes - no other item of food being mentioned.
13. MacLeod Papers Box 26.
14. MacLeod Papers Box 11Bb.
15. MacLeod Papers Box 25b
16. Factors' Account, printed in the Transactions of the Gaelic Society of Inverness Vol.44, p.315.
17. MacLeod Papers Box 17C.
18. MacLeod Papers Box 17Ac.
19. MacLeod Papers Box 21Ac.
20. MacLeod Papers Box 21A.
21. Gordon Muniments GD 44/51/732.
22. Ibid. In 1710 Services on the Gordon estate had become so detailed that there was required "Ans Double of the Judiciall Account of the Carriages and Services lyable be the fewers and tacksmen of the lordship of Badenoch", of which the following is a representative sample:

Extent of land Daughs	Place	Long Carriages	Faces of Peatts Dimensions in feet	Alternative Payment for peatts. Scots Money
1	Delraddie	4	1 @ 12 ³	£10
3	Reatts	12	3 @ 12 ³	£30
Shearing Hooks one day in Harvest	Earing of oats: Sowing of land (Solls)		'Couple of bigging'	
4	1		1	
12	3		3	

Smaller holdings paid pro rata, faces of peats being reduced to six or nine cubic feet.

23. MacLeod Papers Box 22A.
24. Ibid.
25. MacLeod Papers Box 25b: Extracts in Book of Dunvegan Vol.I, p.210.
26. MacLeod Papers Box 25b.
27. MacLeod Papers Box 14A.
28. MacLeod Papers Box 22A.
29. MacLeod Papers Box 16.
30. Glenelg 1707 - MacLeod Papers Box 26.

Harris 1702 Rosta - Box 22A.

Harris 1698 & Factors' Accounts 1706-20 - MacLeod Papers Box 11Bb, printed in Transactions of the Gaelic Society of Inverness, Vol.44, pp.314, 318, 322, 323. The discharge of 1707 shows, for example, "Imp^{rs} paid to Mr Alexander MacLeod advocate in Behalf of MacLeod by Collin Campbell of Glendaruel as the price of 176 cows delivered him of MacLeods Rent at sixteen merks pr peice the Receipt whereof lyes in the said Mr. MacLeods Hands

2816 - - "

There was apparently a 'bad mercat' in 1706 (Box 17Ac.)

31. MacLeod Papers Boxes 17B(1) and 13D.
32. MacLeod Papers Box 13D.

Pounds Stots	1680	1684	1685	1697	1698	1701	1702	1703	1724	1735	1754
Money Rent	1586 0 0	1589 9 0	1587 0 8	1031 6 8	1052 0 8	1073 6 8	983 6 8	1054 15 0	1970 0 0	2053 3 4	1754 2621 3 4
Victual	898 19 2	226 0 10	881 5 0	650 0 0	635 8 4	754 13 4	648 0 0	682 13 4	581 6 8	616 0 0	716 13 4
Kitchen	357 0 0	344 12 6	345 15 0	220 10 0	174 0 0	153 0 0	177 0 0	186 0 0	248 14 0	249 12 0	288 6 8
Wedders	153 10 0	141 15 0	143 9 0	94 0 0	69 0 0	61 0 0	79 10 0	76 0 0	118 4 0	114 0 0	166 0 0
Morts	86 13 4	86 13 4	86 13 4	69 6 8	60 13 4	26 0 0	26 0 0	34 13 4	74 13 4	53 6 8	48 0 0
Produce Rents	1496 2 6	1199 1 9	1456 13 4	1033 16 8	939 1 8	994 13 4	930 10 0	979 6 8	1022 18 0	1032 18 8	1229 0 0
Mart Money	45 10 0	45 10 0	45 10 0	36 13 4	23 10 4	45 10 0	45 10 0	45 10 0	6 0 0	included	included
Cess	182 15 4	188 13 4	179 6 8	188 13 4	188 13 4	188 13 4	182 13 4	188 13 4	53 0 0	included	included
Teinds	577 10 0	377 10 0	377 10 0	116 13 4	116 13 4	116 13 4	116 13 4	116 13 4	116 13 4	186 13 4	186 13 4
Casualty Rent	11 13 4	11 13 4	102 6 8	506 3 4	572 2 8	565 10 0	483 17 4	458 3 4	513 10 0	461 6 8	550 3 4
Finnsbay	16 0 0	16 0 0	16 0 0	16 0 0	Free	-	16 0 0	16 0 0	13 6 8	20 0 0	40 0 0
Rowdall	10 13 4	10 13 4	10 13 4	10 13 4	10 13 4	10 13 4	10 13 4	10 13 4	242 13 4	247 13 4	242 13 4
Total Rents	3915 2 6	3916 4 0	3876 7 4	2834 13 4	2800 11 8	2812 3 4	2606 14 0	2783 15 0	3712 8 0	3810 7 0	4683 0 0
Berneray	104 3 4	104 3 4	104 3 4	104 3 4	104 3 4	104 3 4	104 3 4	104 13 4	104 13 4	104 13 4	104 13 4
St Kilda	166 13 4	166 13 4	166 13 4	166 13 4	166 13 4	166 13 4	166 13 4	166 13 4	166 13 4	166 13 4	166 13 4
New Holdings	66 13 4	66 13 4	66 13 4	66 13 4	66 13 4	66 13 4	66 13 4	66 13 4	66 13 4	66 13 4	66 13 4
Total	337 10 0	337 10 0	337 10 0	337 10 0	337 10 0	337 10 0	337 10 0	337 10 0	337 10 0	337 10 0	337 10 0
Harris Total	4252 12 6	4253 14 0	4213 17 4	3310 10 0	3171 2 4	3183 0 4	2977 10 8	3154 11 8	4079 14 8	4236 2 0	4282 14 8

Harris Rents 1680 - 1754

- A. Scalpay's potential mart money excepted - there is no evidence to show that it was ever paid.
- B. Actual mart money mentioned in rental.
- C. Actual mart money = £ 8-0-0.
- D. According to the 1685 Cess List, which contains some omissions and errors, e.g. Drimfuint, and Hushinish and Scarp.
- E. Ensay's teind bolls (19 = £ 79-3-4) were probably included in the victual rent of £ 377-10-0 which also includes £ 116-13-4, the price of 28 teind bolls from Pabbay.
- F. Actual teind rent.
- G. There is no mention of Ensay's teinds in either the 1702 or 1703 rentals.
- H. Ensay's teinds, calculated at £ 67-10-0 included.
- J. Mart money excepted - no evidence.
- K. Produce rents of Finsbay were 2 stones & 2 wedders in 1702 and one of each in 1703; Rowdil paid three stones butter in 1680, four wedders in 1684 and three wedders in 1685.
- L. Cess and Teinds of £ 21-13-4 included.
- M. The Converted price of 25 bolls of Teind Victual is according to the 1724 list of 'rents paid in the time of John MacLeod of that ilk', and the 1725-1726 Factor's Account.
- N. Teind victual = 25 bolls x £ 5-6-8 = £ 133-6-8.
- O. Teinds of the Copiphells in 1724 = £ 30; Berneray & Copiphells 1754 £ 53-6-8, ∴ Berneray calculated at £ 23-6-8.
- P. Money Rent & Cess of the Copiphells in 1724 = £ 166-13-4; Berneray 1735 = £ 349-6-8 less £ 166-13-4 = £ 182-13-4.
- Q. 1754 Rent less that of the Copiphells in 1724; Money Rent £ 160-13-4, Produce Rents £ 74-10-8, Cess £ 6-0-0, Teinds £ 30-0-0 = £ 271-2-0. Berneray's Rent 1754 = £ 1320-0-0, less £ 271-2-0 = £ 1048-18-0.
- R. Hirta probably paid other forms of rent - see 1751 Factor's Account for feathers. Hirt Farm 1706 = 100 merks = 16 bolls at 6m-3-4 or £ 4-3-4 per boll. The rental 'B' for 1724 states "They (the Chamberlains) charge themselves in 18 bolls for St. Kilda notwithstanding it is given up in this rental but at 16 bolls". The 1725-6 Factor's Account states 'St. Kilda fearm extends to £ 96-0-0', i.e. 18 bolls at £ 5-6-8 per boll.

- S. Wadset feu duty; the teinds of the wadset are stated to be £ 125-6-8 in the 1724 'B' rental, but have not been included as no mention is made of them until then, and the Contract of Wadset is presently, and has been for some considerable time inaccessible, being 'under repair' in Register House.
- T. These figures probably bear little relation to actual rents at least until 1724, but are based on the only evidence available.

CHAPTER 7 - ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL CHANGE IN HARRIS 1680-1754.

On p. 328 is a table which summarises economic change in Harris by means of a survey of the rents payable by tenants. In 1680 the self-sufficient and diversified nature of the economy is seen in the value (at contemporary market prices) of produce rents, which were worth to the landlord almost as much as the money rents, themselves valuable by comparison with Silver Rents from Skye. Yet that it was to some degree unexploited is seen in the proportion of just under a tenth of the total money rent paid by the village of Rowdil. Some holdings, mainly in North Harris, were possessed in liferent by Sir Norman Macleod of Berneray, which island, with St. Kilda, was an entirely separate community and did not appear in the Harris rental until Sir Norman's death. Casualty rents amounted to approximately a third of the money rent, but there is no evidence to show that cess or mart money were collected on a regular basis during the seventeenth century, and some teinds were paid in victual. The impression is therefore given of a subsistence economy which changed very little until 1724 and the end of the 'Contullich Administration'. The Tutor sought to run the estate, in the absence of a landlord, according to practices that were 'nottourly known', and his administration is proof that the type of economy practised was more than sufficient to provide a generous income for the landlord: between 1700-1706, years during which a significant part of the rents was not paid owing to bad harvests, £25,000 was offset against previous debts, and between 1706 and 1720 at least £60,000 was used in the same way. For the majority of tenants on the other hand such an economy was viable only given good harvests; poor returns meant a subsidy from the landlord either in meal or allowances in rent. The Administration clearly took this factor into account since money rents payable from the tenants fluctuated far more between 1706 - 1720 than at any other time

during the period, and hundreds of bolls of meal were bought for them from Ireland and the mainland in early 1718 following murrain amongst their cattle and poor crops in 1717. Charity was also dispensed liberally, so that for the majority of tenants this way of life was basic but adequate.

However the table shows that between 1680 and 1754 total money rents increased from £2,413-0-0 to £3,354-0-0, i.e. just over a third in 74 years. The first major augmentation occurred in 1724 when the Contullich Administration was replaced by the sole management of Norman Macleod, the 'Red Man', who increased the money rent of some holdings and left others unchanged. In 1735 a nineteen-year set of tacks took place, together with another increase. At the end of this nineteen years i.e. in 1754, money rents rose very steeply, and though linked to a 19-year tack, in the event they were further augmented in 1769 when the estate was on the verge of ruin due to Norman's profligate expenditure. It can thus be seen that any stimulus to the economy was almost entirely due to actions taken by the landlord: economic circumstances were so limited that increases in rent could only be paid by further sales of cattle, which in turn meant the building up of cattle stocks. In 1754 the importance of kelp to the economy was only just being realised - those who processed kelp paid only 7/6 or £ 4-10-0 Scots per ton for the 'privilege' whereas in 1764 it was being exported at £ 3-5-0 Sterling or £ 40-0-0 Scots, and its total value was apparently £ 325-0-0 (£3,900-0-0 Scots) compared to the £455-0-0 or £5,460-0-0 Scots realised from cattle.¹ The latter figure compared with the 1754 total money rent (including Berneray) of £5,101-14-8, is probably on the optimistic side, and there is no corroborative evidence for the export of salted cattle. Nevertheless a surplus to the rent was clearly being made by some tenants in Harris

during the mid-eighteenth century.

In this context the fact that eighteenth century rent increases did not apply to all holdings is important; in general, smaller ones especially on the islands were not much affected. The holdings which were most concerned - Finsbay and Rowdil excepted - were ones held by principal tenants during the seventeenth century, and they were clearly before the increases (and even, perhaps, after them) receiving their land on favourable terms compared to the rest of the tenantry.

Inhabitants of these holdings had a close connection with MacLeod, either through kinship or finance; most of them held positions of importance in the tenant hierarchy, and most significantly, at one time or another they held a written tack for their lands. They would therefore seem to justify their description of 'tacksmen'.

The chameleon-like nature of the word 'tacksmen' has been the reason for its avoidance as far as possible in this thesis. The material suggests that it embodied three definitions, the first being the literal meaning of someone who held a tack, either written or unwritten, for their lands. This concept seems to have been used both in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Secondly, the term appears to have applied in the 'traditional' sense, salient characteristics of many tacksmen being a close relationship with the landlord, a position of some authority within the estate, and a comparatively low rent. The third definition implies a later development of this idea, in its description of a tacksmen as a 'middleman', using his initiative to boost his income from ventures not necessarily connected with his holding; like the landlord, such a tacksmen need not be resident upon the estate.

The discussion which follows seeks to show which definitions were most relevant to tacksmen in Harris, and whether other tenants besides the ones indicated above fulfilled any of these criteria.

The first hypothesis suggests that all the people named in the rentals could be included in the term since they all held land directly from MacLeod. In the eighteenth century there was written evidence for the tenure of their holdings, e.g. in 1754 "Glasfein sett in Tack by Tack of this date to (a tenant) for the space of Nineteen years after Whitsunday last for the rent mentioned in the Rentall Book", and examples of the actual documents survive. However, written tacks of the seventeenth century are few, and save for a reference to the end of Strond's tack in 1685 the word 'Tack' does not occur on any of the rentals or Factors' Accounts until the Centullich Administration - the titles, for example, do not state "set in tack", just "sett". We cannot thus be sure of the landholding arrangements - we can only see their effect in that tenants had a reasonable security of tenure. If, as seems probable, the lands were set on a year to year basis, a fact that lands were traditionally associated with a particular tenant's family no doubt influenced the setting, from the many sons and grandsons to be seen in the same holding. The 'status quo' is much in evidence in seventeenth century rentals, including very stable rents, though there is unfortunately no evidence to show when those particular rents were set in the first place.

A feature of the early rentals is the number of direct tenants who were joint tenants holding comparatively small amounts of land, and it is concerning these tenants that the literal definition of a tacksmen would seem to be unsatisfactory, since all the other evidence does not suggest that they were regarded as tacksmen by their fellow inhabitants.

Similarly, it cannot be said of many people in the rentals, either single or joint tenants, that they had close connections through kinship with MacLeod, though there may have been an emotional association with the family stretching back centuries. Neither were they in a close financial relationship with him - the rents from these holdings were fairly low in relation with amounts of land valuation, yet they could not afford to lend him money and the majority were consistently in arrears. Their low rents may thus be taken less of a sign of beneficence than of economic necessity, and of the relationship between them and their sub-tenants. From this class of tenant there emerged few men connected with estate organisation: in the seventeenth century William Ross, living in Rowdil, was the Ground Officer though unable to write his name, and the sundry posts of ferrier, peat winner, etc., were recruited from amongst their numbers. These positions were not very prominent in the tenant hierarchy, though they sometimes qualified for 'pensions'. For the mass of the direct tenantry, therefore, contact with the landlord seems mainly to have been on the social level.

There thus remains the same group of tacksmen - the possessors of certain holdings in Harris. These were North and South Copiphell, North Scarsta, Hushinish and Scarp, Scalpay and Strond, and the holdings traditionally divided between a principal tenant and several smaller ones, i.e. Kirktown and Ensay and Eile. They, the rents they paid and the positions they held are therefore examined in an attempt to discover their relative position vis a vis the definition of tacksmen, since in their functions and status is seen the epitome of social change.

Few of these tenants had a close kinship tie with the landlord. They included Sir Norman MacLeod of Berneray, Normand Mak Neil and his son Alexander in Kirktown who were descendants of William MacLeod, the 5th Chief, and Ean and tormod mc Allister awinich in the Copiphells, whose ancestor was a nephew of Sir Rory Mor MacLeod.² The majority of tacksmen in Harris were members of different branches of the family of Campbell, whose progenitor was Duncan Campbell of Castle Sween who married Mary, the daughter of William the 9th Chief in 1567; they were variously identified as mc kenzie and mc ean vic innas. That this family had very close connections with the MacLeods is indicated in the contract of fosterage of Sir Norman MacLeod of Berneray dated 1614, in which arrangements were made for the child to be fostered with John Campbell, and in the event of his death with two further members of the family.

The most intriguing aspect of seventeenth century tacksmen in Harris holdings is their financial relationship with the landlord. Of these tenants, most paid above-average money rents according to the land valuation of their holdings, and continued to do so throughout the period. Furthermore, while the rents of tacksmen who were joint-tenants were proportionately less than rents paid by the other tenants, the difference was not as great as one would have expected and there are signs that through the years the gap was growing less.³

These tenants in the seventeenth century held their land on favourable terms compared to the rest of the tenantry, since all of these holdings paid substantially more rent in 1754 than they had done in 1680, whereas other holdings could pay only a slight increase. One would therefore assume that rents would be paid with ease and indeed they were by Strond, North Scarsta and probably also Hushinish and Scarp.

The other holdings, however, together with the majority of the tenantry found some, if not great difficulty, in paying their rents.

This would seem to be a significant comment on the economic circumstances which governed the relationship between the tacksmen and their sub-tenantry. In the seventeenth century it is apparent that all could depend equally on the landlord for good-will regarding security of tenure, and there is only one instance of a tenant disappearing from the rental after an accumulation of rests.⁴

Nevertheless, it is clear that Tackmen paid as and when they could - there are no disproportionate amounts of arrears. The inference can therefore be made that in years when arrears are shown the sub-tenants could not have afforded to pay their rents to the tacksmen, who in turn had not the resources to cover these omissions. Furthermore, there is concrete evidence to show the logical outcome of such a situation - no less than three of these seventeenth-century tackmen were either insolvent or very close to it. The three items of evidence are so important that they are included here.

Normand Mac Neil and his son Allister in Kirktown were MacLeod's hereditary Stewards of St. Kilda. According to Martin Martin⁵ MacLeod "bestows the Isle upon a Cadet of his Name, whose Fortune is low, to maintain his Family, and he is called Steward of it: he visits the Isle once every Summer to demand the Rents, viz. Down, Wool, Butter, Cheese, Cows, Horses, Fowl, Oil and Barley". Presumably these rents went to MacLeod, though only Barley is shown in later rentals: St. Kilda is not referred to until 1706 and the transaction may have been informal. At any rate, Norman had 18 merks arrears of Cess in 1679 and Allister rested more than his money rent in 1683, i.e. 139 merks. In 1684, when father and son

halved the 4½d between them, Allister still owed 139 merks and Normand 59. In 1685 Allister held half, the other being tenanted by the widow Nick Quien; his arrears were still owing at the end of that year and the widow also owed 118 merks, or twice Normand's rests in 1684. Allister made only one further payment, that of 32 merks in 1687. This is a picture of a tenant in distress, and indeed he was having difficulty in paying the rents of his other holding of Warkasaig in Skye. The 1684 Duirinish rests include the clause "Inst count and reconking being ffitted betuxt ye Laird of make Leod & Normand mc tormod his Chamberlan rests be normand mc tormand for his brother allexander 88 merks mor 30 merks of borrowed money mor 35 merks of arries all extends to 153 merks". In Warkasaig there was a tenant called the widow Rachell nick quiene, so she must also have held land in both Skye and Pabbay. Her rests in Skye were minimal, and twice she had no arrears.

Mr. John Campbell, minister of Harris as his father was before him,⁶ was also in low financial circumstances. In the 1708 Factors' Account is the item "to Anne Campbell Relect of Mr. John Campbell minister of Harries 110 mks being the annual rent of 2000 merks payable to her by the present Laird of MacLeod's grandfather as Cau^r for the said Mr. John in her Contract of Marriage for payment to her of the fore-mentioned Sum as her Jointure the said Mr. John having dyed insolvent, inde as per attested Receipt because she could not write". John evidently 'retired' to the holding of South Copiphell between 1702 and 1703, the rents from the island of Ensay in such poor years apparently proving insufficient in lieu of his tythes, and by his death he was penniless.

However, the third tacksmen in this category is the most significant of all, since it was none other than the Chamberlain of Harris, Malcolm Campbell. The discharge for 1705 and proceedings which shows enormous sums of arrears given down include 'Item resting of Balance by the said Malcolm Campbell Chamberland constitute by the late Macleod at fitting Accounts with me for Crop 1706 and preceeding Rents which he solemnly Declared he paid to the said Laird of Macleod in money and otherwise at his taking Journey South as pr his Declaration, the sd Malcolm being Insolvent - 1559 merks". This state of affairs may possibly have been the reason for his giving up this position to Rorie and Donald MacLeods - and he evidently received no pension. He is not heard of again.

These three men were in positions of importance on the estate, yet were far from affluent. Indeed one has the impression that Chamberlains and tacksmen of this era were 'of the people'; they knew the tenants well enough to refer to them by one or two names in documents, and were integral members of a close-knit society all more or less in the same financial circumstances - Finlay mc finlay's stock of almost 50 cattle had to be sold on his death in order to make ends meet. Possibly the best indication of their way of life can be gained from the fact that since none owned a stock of sixty cattle, they would not be considered of such importance that their children had to be sent South for their education.

From 1706 onwards there is a distinct change in estate organisation; and it is significant that from this date the Chamberlains of Harris were not from the island itself, but from either Skye or Berneray. Rorie MacLeod of Ullinish and Norman MacLeod of Drynoch clearly administered the estate very efficiently, yet a document dated 1717

in the collection of the Scottish Society for the Propagation of Christian Knowledge, referring to the state of affairs in St. Kilda mentions that correspondence was conducted through the Laird of Macleod's Chamberlain and Officer "Who are ordinably both illiterate men, whereby no certain account can be had of the state of the people there, or of the minister's success and behaviour amongst them"⁷ an indictment of the visitors rather than of the "illiterates", one would have thought. From 1724 to 1730 William Macleod of Berneray, son of Sir Norman's second marriage, was Chamberlain; his son Alexander was Factor from 1724-1735 and 1747-1749. Alexander was evidently not a popular tacksman - in 1763 other tacksmen had petitioned, unsuccessfully, for his removal on the grounds that he was a bad example to other tenants, and there would be neither peace nor harmony amongst the country people "if he and his malicious, impudent domineering and impertinent wife" were allowed to remain on the estate".⁸ Donald Macleod of Berneray (1736-45, 1752-3) and Charles MacSween were also Factors with origins elsewhere than Harris. There were only two Factors with local associations - John Campbell of Strond (1749) and John Campbell of Ensay (1754).

This trend is illustrative of the changing position of Harris as regards the Macleod Estate as a whole. Though families long-associated with the landlord were still well-represented in tenant lists, they were in the mid-eighteenth century joined by families of incomers in positions of some authority, e.g. the sons of the Rev. Aulay MacAulay. Especially notable is the infiltration of the rental by the family of Berneray. In 1680 Hushinish and Scarp were held by Sir Norman; in 1754 his descendants possessed the holdings of North and South Copiphell, Seilebost and Luskintyre in addition to Hushinish and Scarp and Berneray's traditional holdings in Harris including Niesbost and Geocrab. These

tenants in the mid-eighteenth century were rich in landholding terms - their holdings were the ones paying few if any produce rents and comparatively high money rents which they seem well able to pay from the numbers of cattle sent south. Indeed, for this group of tenants the period before 1754 seems to have been the most advantageous financially; rents in 1735 did not rise by very much and though Strond and Luskintyre borrowed from MacLeod, they were able to pay him back within a relatively short period of time through profits from the sale of their cattle. Their prosperity contrasts with the financial situation in Harris during the late seventeenth century.

Yet tacksmen in Skye seem to have been most prosperous during the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries. Skye Silver Rent rolls of the 1680's show that tacksmen had little difficulty in paying their rents, unlike the smaller tenantry, and the numbers of cattle sent South (minima of 400 in 1706, 200 in 1707 and 100 in 1708) suggest that they had the best of two worlds - a buoyant market, and low rent payments for their holdings. Some idea may be gained of just how prosperous they were by the entries in the 1706 discharge which shows that Skye tacksmen had lent money to MacLeod as follows:

William MacLeod in Claiggen	1500 merks
Rory MacLeod of Ullinish	2000 merks
Normand MacLeod of Drynoch	5000 merks
William MacLeod of Ose	500 merks
Donald MacLeod of Belmeanoch	2000 merks
Murdoch MacLeod of Gesto	1000 merks
Rory MacLeod in Glenbracadale	1000 merks
Donald MacLeod in Summerdale	1000 merks
Farquhar Bethune in Tuttardor	1500 merks
John Bethune in Lustae	500 merks

By contrast, the only tacksmen in Harris to have lent money to MacLeod (besides Sir Norman MacLeod of Berneray) were John McKenzie in Strond (3000 merks 1674) and Rory Campbell (either 3000 merks or 1000 merks.⁹

Though the wealth enjoyed by tacksmen in Skye in the early eighteenth century was partly dependent upon their cattle stocks, it can also be attributed to their own initiative - numerous transactions involving the export of, for example, victual, kitchen and salmon were undertaken by the tacksmen of Drynoch, Belmeanoch, Talisker, Ullinish, Eboist, Hammer, Contullich and Bay.¹⁰ Yet the activities of this group of tenants do not seem to have expanded during the course of the century, and by the 1760's some required the repayment of their loans - Hammer was destitute by 1750. This situation was caused by a diminishing margin between returns and rents, so that, by the end of the period the connotation of tacksmen with regard to this class of tenant in Skye was one of a close relationship with the landlord and a social influence strong enough to persuade many of their sub-tenants to follow them overseas.

The majority of Harris tacksmen, on the other hand, never really rose to such heights of economic versatility. In the seventeenth century Angus Campbell in Taransay possessed his own boat which plied between the islands and Glasgow, and both Rorie Campbell and John Campbell (fl. 1706) were merchants. Donald Campbell of Scalpay apparently instigated a fishing industry in 1733, but apart from 'Harie Bain', boatmaster at Niesbost and later Ground Officer, who seems to have been a very resourceful gentleman, business ventures were almost non-existent during the period. It is thus apparent that tacksmen in Harris do not really merit the description of 'Middlemen'.

Norman MacLeod's memorandum to tacksmen in 1735 makes no differentiation between different sorts of tenant -- he clearly meant those people who held land directly from him, and on whose lands there were sub-tenants. Very rarely do tenants identify themselves as tacksmen, the only example discovered being in the 1746 rental when John Campbell and Alexander MacLeod described themselves as 'Taxman' of Strond and Luskintyre respectively. Despite the drastic reduction in the number of direct tenants, it is still arguable whether joint-tenants of holdings such as the Scarstas or those in Taransay would be considered to be tacksmen, the difference in landholding terms between them and the other tacksmen being so great. Thus the literal definition would again seem to be inappropriate.

The inference must therefore be made that the traditional criteria for tacksmen in the seventeenth century were, in Harris, equally applicable during the mid-eighteenth century. However, the people to whom they applied had changed. On to the original Harris tenantry had been grafted incomers who had an equal if not greater claim to tacksmanship, and so the tenantry pattern was altered and people who had formerly been entitled to the definition of a tacksman in its literal sense now found themselves sub-tenants of tacksmen of greater consequence than fifty years previously. A clue to this process is seen in the description of these principal tenants in contemporary documents. Whereas several Skye tacksmen were called by their holdings (e.g. in the list above) the only seventeenth-century people in Harris so designated were the family of John Campbell of Strond. By 1754 Factors' Accounts and rentals were referring to the Campbells of Ensay and Scalpay, and the MacLeods of Luskintyre and St. Kilda. Their status was obviously assured -- and during the next generation, their status would be the sole differentiation between them

and ordinary tenants, as they, too, began to find that the rents were "sett too high".

In 1754 Norman MacLeod was forced to accept the fact that the influence of tradition was still strong enough to stop him from receiving a fair rent from certain holdings. During this period there are few indications, either of the concept of economic estate management or of exploitation of its potential. The nature of society was therefore such that both landlord and tenant were pawns in the conflict between tradition and economic realism which resolved itself in the sale of Harris in 1779.

NOTES TO CHAPTER 7

1. Walker's Description of the Hebrides, printed in Transactions of the Gaelic Society of Inverness, Vol.24, p.137.
2. Genealogy of the MacLeods, Vol.III, pp.1-2, 202.
3. Comparative rents were as follows:

	<u>Kirktown</u>	<u>Land Held</u>	<u>Money Rent</u>	<u>Victual</u>	<u>Kitchen</u>	<u>Medders</u>	<u>Marts</u>
			<u>Merks.</u>	<u>Bolls</u>	<u>Stones</u>		
1680 Tacksman	4½d	-	100-0-0	12	12	6	1
Joint-Tenants	2½d	-	75-0-0	23	10	10	
1698 Tacksman	3½d	-	100-0-0	12	12	6	1
Joint-Tenants	3½d	-	105-0-0	23	12	9	
<u>Ensay & Eile</u>							
1680 Tacksman	3½d	-	140-0-0	16	16	6	1
Joint-Tenants	2d	-	120-0-0	36	16	16	
1703 Tacksman	3½d	-	140-0-0	16	16	6	1
Joint-Tenants	2d	-	108-1-8	23½	7⅞	7⅞	

The 'tacksman' of Ensay in 1703 were brothers, otherwise unknown, who made an unsuccessful attempt to farm the land and were replaced by Rorie Campbell: the fact that the rent remained the same as when set to the Minister is evidence that low rents were traditionally attached to certain holdings and not adjusted to individual tenants.

4. This tenant was Ewine mc person in Middle Borrow, whose circumstances were as follows:

		<u>Merks</u>
Silver Rent Rests	1679	15-10-0
Set Half Middle Borrow	1680 for	53- 6-8
Paid Silver Rent	1683	29- 0-0
Silver Rent Rests	1683	35- 6-8
Set Half Middle Borrow	1684 for	41- 4-4
Rests	1684	57- 3-4
Only Half of Middle Borrow was set in 1685		
Rests	1685	95- 0-0 (Deleted)

5. Martin Martin, Description of the Western Islands of Scotland (1716 Edition), p.289.
6. Ibid, p.95.
7. GO 95/10/127b.
8. I.F. Grant, The MacLeods, p.492.
9. MacLeod Papers, Boxes 13D, 15A, 15F, 16.
10. MacLeod Papers, Boxes 11Fa, 17G;
Baillie Steuart's Letter Book (Scottish History Society 1915)
pp.498-499, and the Book of Dunvegan, Vol.II, p.157.

APPENDICES

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Harris Tenants 1680-1754

Pabbay Kirktown	Silver Rent Rests	Cess Rests	Rent	S.R.	S.R. Rests	Rent Rests	Rent Rests	S.R.	S.R.	S.R.	Rent	Rent	Rent	Rent	Rent	Rent	Rent		
	1679	1679	1680	1683	1683	1684	1684	1685	1685	1686	1687	1688	1698	1701	1702	1703	1724	1754	Northtown
Murdo McNeill	✓	✓	✓											✓	✓	✓			
Neil Mc Wer	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓		✓	✓	✓	✓	✓							
Angus McNeill vic Coill vic Ewin		✓	✓	✓		✓	✓	✓	✓	✓		✓							
donald mc allister		✓	✓	✓	✓	✓		✓	✓										
guthachalum McNeill vic Coill vic Ewin		✓		✓	✓		✓		✓										
donald McNeil vic Coill vic ean		✓	✓	✓		✓		✓	✓	✓	✓	✓							
finlay mc Ean vic unlay		✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	
Kenneth mc Ean vic unlay the smith		✓	✓	✓		✓		✓		✓	✓		✓						
Patrick mc Ean vic Conchye		✓	✓	✓															
Normand McNeill		✓	✓			✓	✓												
Neil mak Coill vic Ewin his widow			✓																
doill mc Coill vic illichalum vic ferqur			✓		✓	✓													Lingay
malcolm mc ean reirach				✓								✓							
Ewine mc Neill vic coill vic ean				✓		✓		✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	Northtown
Donald mc illychalum vic ferqur				✓				✓	✓	✓		✓							
Allister mc tormod vic neill (M'Leod)					✓	✓	✓	✓	✓		✓		✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	
Rone McNeill vic donald vic ean						✓		✓		✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	
Nien vic queen the widow								✓	✓	✓	✓								
Angus mc ean vic irish													✓	✓	✓				
Ailleine mc irish voite													✓						
Rory mc irish													✓						Middletown Northtown
Huston mc m Ccardi															✓	✓	✓		Lingay
Donald mc Doill vic imus																	✓		
Donald M'Leod shipmaster																			✓
Roderick M'Leod his brother																			✓
William MacLeod																			✓
Donald MacLeod																			✓
Murdoch MacLeod																			✓
Donald MacLeod																			✓
Kenneth Morison																			✓
John MacLeod																			✓
Alexander MacLeod																			✓

Northtown

Lingay

Northtown

Middletown

Northtown

Lingay

Lingay

	1679	1679	1680	1683	1683	1684	1684	1685	1685	1686	1687	1688	1693	1701	1702	1703	1724	1754	
finlay mc illechalum glase	✓		✓	✓	✓														Middletown
Ewine mc illechalum glase	✓		✓		✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓								Middletown
gillichalum glase	✓		✓	✓	✓														Middletown
finlay mc ean glase	✓		✓	✓		✓		✓											Kirktown
gillichalum mc ean keueich	✓		✓		✓	✓		✓	✓	✓	✓								Kirktown
angus moire		✓	✓	✓	✓	✓													
Neil mc illechalum glase						✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓								Middletown
tormod mc ean glase						✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓								Middletown
allister mc innishe vic illeimichall						✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓								Middletown
ean mc Neill vic Coill vic ean						✓		✓	✓										Northtown
John m ^c donald vick allen										✓	✓								
Nien illi voir											✓								
The widow nien neill vic donull vic ean										✓									
alistice Mack illechalum oif												✓	✓	✓	✓				Middle
Neill mc ean vc Neill												✓							Burton
Archibald M ^c Neill												✓							
Hustone m ^c mc Keard												✓							Kirktown
Neil Morrison													✓	✓					
Rorie mc vurachie vic Neill															✓				
John MacLeod																			✓
Alexander MacLeod																			✓

<u>Middletown</u>	1679	1679	1680	1683	1683	1684	1684	1685	1685	1686	1687	1688	1698	1701	1702	1703	1724	1754	
Rorie McInnish	✓	✓	✓	✓															Kirktown Northtown
Donald McEan vic unlay			✓																Northtown
Kenneth McIllichalum glase				✓	✓		✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓							Lingay
Malcom glase					✓		✓												Lingay
Funlay McIllichalum glase					✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓							Lingay
Donald McIllichalum glase								✓	✓	✓	✓	✓							Lingay
Normand McEan glase												✓							Lingay Northtown
Alister McIllichalum												✓							

<u>Northtown</u>																			
Rorie McInish vic corill vic ewen					✓		✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	Kirktown Middletown
gillichalum ope	✓	✓																	
Ean McIllichalum ope	✓	✓																	Kirktown
Murdo McNeill vic corill vic ean			✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	
Ean McNeill			✓																
Tormod McEan glase			✓	✓															
Neill McIllichalum glase			✓																
Make innish vic illimichall			✓																
Kenneth McIllichalum ope			✓		✓		✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓							
Malcom ope his relict			✓	✓		✓		✓											
Ewen McIllichalum glase												✓							
Kenneth McIllichalum glase													✓	✓	✓	✓			Essay
Ewen McEachine													✓	✓	✓	✓			
Alister McInish v' illimichall													✓						Kirktown
Donald Mak illichalum v' erquhare													✓						Lingay
Neil McEan vic Neil														✓	✓	✓			
Angus McIllichalum																✓			
John MacLeod																			✓
Alexander MacLeod																			✓

Eie (The Eye)

	1679	1679	1680	1683	1683	1684	1685	1685	1686	1687	1688	1698	1701	1702	1702	1724	1738	
Master John Campbell			✓			✓						✓	✓ rest					Essay S. Copephall
Duncan McCurachie													✓ rest					Essay
Normand McCurachie vic Gillichalm													✓	✓				Essay
Donald McCWilliam														✓				
Murdo McCean vic Conchie														✓				
Duncan McCConchie vic ean vic coil														✓				
Eginald Morrison & his brother Niel															✓			
John Campbell																		✓

Drumfunt

Murdo McCean vic coil	✓		✓		✓	✓	✓											S. Copephall
ean McC Gillespie dougus	✓	✓							✓	✓								
Murdo McC Coil vic Kenneth			✓															Essay S. Copephall
allister brownster alias sandy, monro			✓		✓	✓	✓											
Donald McC Illespick				✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓								
ye widow men na keaird									✓	✓	✓		✓	✓	✓			S. Seagata Little Berron
Donald Morrison ye smith												✓						
John Campbell																		✓

South Copephell

ean McC allister awenich Macleod	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓							Essay Drumfunt
Sandie brownster				✓														
Archibald Campbell																		Bytius ✓
Normand McCean vic allister												✓						
Gillespie dougus												✓						
Neil McC Caskil													✓	✓				
Angus McC Coil vaim													✓	✓				Essay
Malcolm McCean vic illechalum													✓					
toric McC allister													✓	✓				
Malcolm McC Caskil's son													✓					Drumfunt
ean McC Illespick														✓				Essay Eie
The Minister (Master John Campbell)															✓			
Malcolm Morrison																✓		
Donald Macleod of Bernera																		✓
North Copephell & a penny in South Copephell																		
Normand McC allister Macleod	✓		✓		✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓		
Roderick Campbell																✓		
Donald Macleod of Bernera																		✓

South Scarsta

	1679	1679	1680	1683	1683	1684	1684	1685	1685	1686	1687	1688	1698	1701	1702	1703	1724	1754	
The David his wife			✓																N Scarsta
Angus Campbell													✓						
The old smith & his son													✓	✓					Drumfuint Little Barren?
The old smith																✓			
The young smith													rest	✓		✓			N Scarsta
Ewen MacLeod																	✓		N Scarsta
John Mackenman																	✓		
Angus Macleod																		✓	
Donald Morison																		✓	
Angus Morison																		✓	

The Two Scarstas

The widow and some Campbell

✓

North Scarsta

finlay mc finlay		✓	✓		✓														
ye widow Rachell nien ean vic innas Campbell								✓	✓										
Malcom Campbell													✓	✓	✓	✓			S Scarsta
Angus mcean vic innas Campbell & his mother													✓	rest	✓	✓	✓		
Normand Morison																	✓		
John M'Lennon																		✓	S Scarsta
John Macleod																		✓	S Scarsta
Donald M'Anlay / Campbell																		✓	
Kenneth M'Anlay / Campbell																		✓	
Murdoch Mackenzie																		✓	
Normand Morison																		✓	
Henry Baine																		✓	
Anne Campbell																		✓	

Meikle Borrow

1679, 1679, 1680, 1683, 1683, 1684, 1684, 1685, 1685, 1686, 1687, 1688, 1698, 1701, 1702, 1703, 1724, 1754

angus mc illespich

Donald Mc Innish

ye widow & her son

ye widow & her two sons (elder murdock)

M^r Anlay MacAnlay Minister of Herries

M' Kenneth M' Aulay

Hongisto

Middle Borrow

Evening mc person

angus mc illipadrick

allister mc illechalum oife

Kan me inishe vic allespick

donald mc thermodynamics Ewrie

Ewine mc curchie vic Ewine

can mc illechatum oipe

Iceneth morione

Suncane mac Hornod vic unsh vic ushey

Neill Morisone

M^r Kenneth M^cAulay

619234

**Little
Barnes**

Little Barrow

tormod mcinnish vic urchae

donald ye smith

Donald mc william? 1/c person

torrmod mc illicist vic urche

ean me illecharum oife

Kenneth mc finlay vicEan vic finlay

Donald mc William vic ille hallum

Donald mc neill vic Ewen

ean mc houston vic Ewen

keneth mc illichallum vick do: vick ewen

normand mcean vick formed

keneth mc neill vic Coill vic cwen

William Ross

Angus mellechalum oipe

Malcolm Campbell

M^r Kenneth M^c Aulay

Drum tuning

Middle
Bottom:

Herz'sche

Harpistboat

	1679	1679	1680	1683	1683	1684	1684	1685	1685	1686	1687	1688	1698	1701	1702	1703	1729	1759	
tormod mc ean vic tormod			✓	✓		✓		✓		✓	✓	✓		rests ✓					Little Borrow
Kenneth mc Innishe vic Coill vic conche			✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓							Middle Borrow
donald mc Innish vic Coill vic conche alias mc innas				✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓		rests ✓					
Nien gillicahum vic neil																	✓		
John Morrison																		✓	
Angus M'Leod																		✓	
Donald Morrison																		✓	

Selkoo

	1679	1679	1680	1683	1683	1684	1684	1685	1685	1686	1687	1688	1698	1701	1702	1703	1729	1759	
Angus mckenzie / Campbell		✓	✓	✓		✓	x	✓	x		✓	✓		rests ✓					
Colin Campbell																			
Alexander Campbell																	✓		
Alex ^r MacLeod																		✓	Luskintyre Hushinish Scarp

Luskintyre

	1679	1679	1680	1683	1683	1684	1684	1685	1685	1686	1687	1688	1698	1701	1702	1703	1729	1759	
Nine vic phersons ye widow			✓	✓		✓	x	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓							
ffinlay mc ean vic innish			✓	x		✓		✓	✓	✓									
Malcom Campbell													✓						
William Macleod of Bernera																	✓		Hushinish Scarp
Alex ^r MacLeod																		✓	Selkoo Hushinish Scarp

Hushinish & Scarp

	1679	1679	1680	1683	1683	1684	1684	1685	1685	1686	1687	1688	1698	1701	1702	1703	1729	1759	
Sir Normand Macleod	✓		✓	✓		✓		✓	✓		✓	✓							
William Macleod of Bernera																	✓		Luskintyre
Angus mac ffinlay																	✓		
Alex ^r Macleod																		✓	Selkoo Luskintyre

Tarransay - Fablie	1679	1679	1680	1683	1683	1684	1684	1685	1685	1686	1687	1688	1698	1701	1702	1703	1724	1754
donald m'ean vic tormod	✓	✓	✓		✓	x	✓	✓										
angus mc illechalum oig	✓	✓	✓		✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓						
normand mc vurchie vic ean vic tormod										✓	✓	✓						
donald mc vurchie										✓								
Wm Macleod													rests ✓					
ffinlay Morison																	✓	
Maurice Morison																		✓
Angus Morison																		✓
Angus Campbell																		✓
Raa																		
donald m'kenzie / Campbell	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓						
Angus Campbell													rests ✓					
Kenneth Campbell																	✓	
John Morison																		✓
Ronald MacLinnon																		✓
Evan MacLinnon																		✓
Eue																		
Keneth morison	✓		✓	✓	✓	✓	✓		✓									
William Morison			✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	rests ✓					
donald mc william										✓	✓	✓						
Donald MacDonald																	✓	
Alexander Campbell																		✓
Scalpay & mairvif																		
Ean oye m'ean vic mairvif Campbell	✓		✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓		
Donald m'urchie voir	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓		✓	✓							
donald baine			✓															
donald mc illechalum v'urchie voir									✓									
Donald Campbell																	✓	✓
John Campbell																		✓
Strond																		
John McKenzie	✓	✓	✓		✓		✓											
Kenneth Campbell of Strond													✓					
Donald Campbell														✓	✓	✓		
John Campbell																	✓	✓

Rowdelt

	1679	1679	1680	1683	1683	1684	1684	1685	1685	1686	1687	1688	1698	1701	1702	1703	1724	1754
angus dowe mc Coill vic inishe	✓					✓	✓											
malcom mc Coill vaine	✓		✓															
angus mc allane vic ewine	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓			✓								
angus mc Cumra	✓	✓	✓															
malcum mc Coill rewech	✓																	
mc Coill itraue	✓	✓	✓		✓		✓											
finlay mc vic Eane	✓	✓	✓		✓		✓	✓	✓					✓				
mak vic suine	✓	✓																
Ean mc Coill vic Ewine	✓												✓					
allister Gordone	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓								✓	
John dingwall	✓		✓		✓	✓	✓		✓								✓	
torie mc queine		✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓				✓				
Ean mc illimichell		✓	✓	✓		✓	✓	✓					✓					
Neill mak itire		✓	✓		✓	✓	✓	✓	✓				✓					
donald baine		✓																✓
Christopher mc queine			✓			✓		✓										
nine torie			✓															
Margatt nine Laughlane			✓	✓		✓	✓	✓	✓	✓								
dupatt mc vic coill			✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓					✓					
Ean mc illechalum vic Innishe			✓	✓		✓		✓			✓	✓	✓	✓				
donald mc inlay vic illepatrick			✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓				✓					
Patrick mc Coill rewech			✓								✓	✓						
Ean mc Coill vaine vic Thomase			✓	✓	x	✓	✓	✓	✓				✓					
angus mc Coill vic Ewine			✓	✓		✓		✓	✓				✓					
donald mc gillivieid			✓	✓		✓					✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
murdo mc Conchie			✓	✓		✓												
mac faick			✓															
Ewine mc Ean vic Coill vic Ewine				✓									✓			✓		
Mak Coill rewech				✓		✓	✓	✓										
Laughlane mc Laughlane				✓			✓	✓	✓			✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Ean mc Cumra						✓												
Murdo mc Cumra						✓	✓	✓	✓					✓	✓	✓		
Mak huston vic cuke						✓												
Donald mc Laughlane							✓	✓	✓				✓	✓				
Murdo mc illiffe							✓	✓	✓	✓								
Ean mc illephedrit							✓		✓				✓	✓				
ean mc innish vic Cumra								✓		✓								
mak allister									✓									
ean mc tormod vic neill vic ean									✓									✓
vic Laughlan alias MacDonald																		

1679 1679 1680 1683 1683 1684 1684 1685 1685 1686 1687 1688 1698 1701 1702 1703 1724 1754

Dupall mc neill								✓										
donald mc coill itraue								✓										
ean roy mc vick conill									✓	✓	✓							
donald mc vick conill									✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	
Nien doill reweich										✓								
Rorie Campbell's brother Sanders										✓								
donald mc ingis vc ean vic rorie											✓		✓	✓				
Ean mc swaine												✓	✓				✓	
ferquhar mak Coill itraue												✓	✓	✓	✓			
Gillichalm mac rorie vic coill vic												✓	✓	✓	✓			
coil & his good mother																✓		
toruod mac rorie vic coill												✓	✓				✓	
rorie mc illichrist												✓		✓	✓			
William Ross officer												✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	
Kenneth mc illichrist												✓	✓	✓	✓			
angus mc illichrist												✓	✓					
gillichalm mackinsh v v conchie												✓						
donald & ewn mc ean v coill vic ean												✓						
Normand mc illifeadise												✓	✓		✓	✓		
donald mc illifeadise												✓						
John mac Nille												✓						
marie nean ean varin													✓					
Ean mc hormod vc Sorle													✓	✓	✓			
Ean mc hormoid vc neill's relict													✓	✓	✓			
men ean the weaver													✓					
Alex ^r dnywall													✓					
marie nein donel vicean vic conill													✓					
donald mc Coill vic Ewn													✓					
Mr John Lauge													✓	✓	✓			
William mc Rorie mc illichrist														✓	✓			
Angus mc illichrist's relict														✓				
ffindlay mc ean vic conchie														✓				
James dnywall														✓	✓			
Angus mc rorie hushon														✓	✓			
John o'p mc Ean dny																✓		
Norman vic lums vic Coill vic wom																✓		
Kathleen nien vic gillpatrick																✓		
Gillichalm Mc Ean vic gillichalm																	X	
Nien vic Gumerad																✓		
florence nien alister																✓		

Efinsbay

	1679	1679	1680	1683	1683	1684	1684	1685	1685	1686	1687	1688	1698	1701	1702	1703	1724	1754
Ernie mc person			✓															
allister mc illichalun oipe			✓															
finlay mc finlay				✓		✓												
ye widow								Copy ✓										
Donald mac mish ✓ can r'orie													✓					
John mc can due															✓			
Neill m ^c gillchrist																✓		
Donald m ^c Neil																		✓

Quidinish & Knockascon

Angus Macleod																		✓
---------------	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	---

Muiravip

John M ^c Aulay																		✓
---------------------------	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	---

Women Tenants in Harris 1679-1754

	rests	rests	rent	rent	rests	rent	rests	rent	rests	rent	rent	rent	rent	rent	rent	rent	rent	rent
<u>Kirttown</u>	1679	1679	1680	1683	1683	1684	1684	1685	1685	1686	1687	1688	1698	1701	1702	1703	1721	1754
Neill MacCoill vic Ewine his widow			$\frac{1}{4}$															
Nien vic qucin the widow								$2\frac{1}{4}$	✓	✓	✓							
Ailleine mc inish voie															$\frac{1}{4}$			
<u>Linpai</u>																		
Nien illi voir															✓			
The widow nien neill vic donill vic Ean															✓			
<u>Northtown</u>																		
Malcom oip his relict				✓	✓			✓	✓									
<u>Ensay</u>																		
Effie nine doil vick Inish																$\frac{1}{6}$	$\frac{1}{6}$	
Anne nine doil vick Inish																$\frac{1}{6}$	$\frac{1}{6}$	
M ^c Crish + his mother																	$\frac{1}{2} \times \frac{1}{6}$	
<u>Dumfunt</u>																		
The widow nien na Keaird										✓	✓	✓				1	1	1
<u>The Two Scarstad</u>																		
The widow Rachell menean vic innish										4	✓							
The widow & Rone Campbell																✓		
Augus mc ean vic innish & his mother																$\frac{1}{2} \times 1$		
Anne Campbel																		$\frac{1}{2}$
<u>Meikle Borow</u>																		
The widow & her 2 sons (elder murch)																	$\frac{1}{2} \times 2\frac{1}{2}$	$\frac{1}{2} \times 1\frac{1}{4}$
<u>Honfubost</u>																		
Nien gillichalun vic neil																	rests ✓	
<u>Lushintre</u>																		
Nine vic person the widow				3	✓			3	x	3	✓	✓	✓					

Rowdill

	1679	1679	1680	1683	1683	1684	1684	1685	1685	1686	1687	1688	1698	1701	1702	1703	1724	1754
nine rorie mc queine			$\frac{1}{16}$															
Marpatt nine Langhane			$\frac{1}{16}$	✓		$\frac{1}{16}$	✓	$\frac{1}{16}$	✓	✓								
Nien doill reweich											✓							
marie nien ean vaine														$\frac{1}{32}$				
ean mc hormod vic neil's relict														$\frac{1}{32}$	$\frac{1}{32}$	$\frac{1}{32}$		
nien ean the weaver														$\frac{1}{64}$				
marie nien donil vicean vic conel														$\frac{1}{64}$				
Malcom mc Rory + his good-mother															$\frac{1}{2} \times \frac{3}{32}$	$\frac{1}{2} \times \frac{3}{32}$		
Angus mc gillechrist's relict															$\frac{1}{32}$			
Kathrin nien vic gillepatrick																$\frac{1}{64}$		
Nien vic Cumerad																$\frac{1}{32}$		
florence nien allister																$\frac{1}{64}$		

MacLeod's Skye Land Valuations 1706 - 1754

<u>Bracadale</u>	dlands
Groban & Skaigarrie (Balmeanoch)	10
Ose	5
Ullinishes	9½
Ostill	2½
Struan More	4
Pferinleoden & Corphein	5
Pforsan & peinvicilleroy	2½
Tuttardor	4½
Glenbracadile	3
Gastoe	11
Summerdale	3½
Ebost	7
Meidle	2
Colbost	3
Edinikill	3
Glenostill	2½
	<hr/>
	78
	<hr/>
Drynoch & Crossoll 1709-1754	8
Bellgounie 1724-1754	3
	<hr/>
	89
	<hr/>

Lindle

Triaslane	1
Skaibost & Scalldoll	3
Bernisdall	3
Knott) 5¾
Clachamisse	
Peinegarrie	1
Lindall eichrick	5
	<hr/>
	18¾
	<hr/>

Duirinish

dlands

fforlige	3
Ballmoire	6½
Doinnelerich	4½
Wattine	2½
Roege	3½
Orhost	2
Warkasage	2
fforse	1
Brandersacke	0½
Idrigall	1½
Ollistall	2
Waterstein	9½
Scornidine	2
Peine Moire & breakpeine	2
Culmurile	1
Galltrigall	2
Collehost	2
Skinidall	3
Uginesses	4
Kilmoore	3½
Duart & Glenanibost	4
Nissibost	-
Hammir & Lourgill	25
Boreraig	2
Brucker	0¾
Ramsaig	3
Milivaig	2
Borridile	0½
Husibost & braeglein	5
Swordile	0½
Leiphenbrack	0½
Glasphein	1
Dunvegan	2½
Clagen, Scor etc. (1724 onwards = 20d)	11
(The Tutor's Tenement)	

115¾

Minginishdlands

Roudunan	3
Bollitoure	3
Achahand	3½
Satarane	2
Triane	1½
Mirkadall	1
Meikle Carribost	1½
Little Carribost	1
Heallie	4½
Ardffrack	3½
Lissolle	3½
Crakinosse	3½
Brunnolle	3½
Grulle	3
Brainorte	2½
Liachclerich	4
Chlachane	2
Kirkibost	1
Borline	5
Ardhuille bege	3
Viscawage ni krive	3½
Ardhuille moire	2
Talliskir & Houstill	12
Fferrinlea	3½

75½

Drynoch & Crossoll until 1708

8

83½

Waternish

dlands

Unnish	10
Trumpan Beg	6
Trumpan More	8
Gearrie	3½
Halldistra	5
Haline	2½
Peinstaphen	1
ffasick	4
Trein	6½
Scor, Gillen & the Isle	4
Stein	2
Lustae	5
Bay & Camlog	6½
Grisernish & Dubaig	9
Cussladir & Berve	2½
Edinbain	1½
ffloshadir & Kildonan	1½
Braebost	5

83½

Connan (1706)

2

85½

Glenelg 1735 - 1755, being a 12 davoch land

	dlands
Balivraid	4
Easter Corarie	2
Inchinnell	3
W. Corarie & Craig	3
Auchdadye	4
Culindune	4
Milvokerach & Killismore	2
Swordilan	3
Skaulisaig & Cranchyle	4
Milmoir & $\frac{1}{2}$ Beolarie	6
Leanachkan	2
Pitalmid & Dalachir	$4\frac{1}{2}$
Knockfuin	4
Edinvaick	1
Auchihourn	4
Beolarie	2
Arichirnachan + Kinchuiman	2
Lyclbeg	3
Lyolvoulin	2
Bourblach	4
Lyolmore	$3\frac{1}{2}$
Sandaig) $5\frac{1}{2}$
Clambuil	
Gauldir	4
Islandrioch) 7
Kirktown	
Auchnashellach	
Meolarie	
Arnistill) 7
Auchiglenmore	
Blarninach	
Auchglenbeg	1
Bernera	4
Invergraddan	3
Leoran	$1\frac{1}{2}$
	<hr/> 100 <hr/>

Skye Silver Rents Due 1683 in merks

	<u>Factor's Total</u>	<u>Corrected Total</u>
Bracadale	1606- 0-0	1454- 0-0
Lindle	608- 0-0	608- 0-0
Duirinish	2595- 0-0	2609- 0-0
Migginish	2302- 0-0	2292- 0-0
Waternish	1213- 6-8	1214- 0-0
	<hr/>	<hr/>
Total	8324- 6-8	8177- 0-0
	<hr/>	<hr/>

Skye Silver Rent Rests 1683

Bracadale)		489- 2-10
)	958- 1-2	
Lindle		460- 7-10
Duirinish	1278-11-8	1578-11-8
Migginish	1701-10-0	1701-10-0
Waternish	1164- 9-0	1164- 9-0
	<hr/>	<hr/>
	5103- 5-2	5395- 1-4
	<hr/>	<hr/>

Factor's Total Rests 1684 = 6716m-4-2

2.2×10^5

-368-

The rentall of the Lands of the Harris threnkenike of october 1678 80.
Containing the rents of the rent & of the Cesse for Crop & yeare 1679 at myra
october ye 15 day 1680

The Lands of the Harris & lles thereto belonging as they ar sett to John
mc leod of downrepan heritor thereof as follows whittsunday 1680

Land held		Town or Holding Tenant	money rent			Meal		Beare		Actual Pabhan Meal Beare		Kitchen butter cheese		Widdis Bank
1 st	4 th clittick		mer	sh	d	bolle	flur	bolle	flur	bolle	stone			
<u>Paba Kirkcubaine</u>														
4 1/2		Normand Mak Neil	100	-	-					12	12	6	1	
1		Neill mak Coill vic ewin his widow	7	6	8	1/2		1 1/2			1	1		
1		angus mc Neill vic Coill vic Ewin	7	6	8	1/2		1 1/2			1	1		
1		donald mc Neill	7	6	8	1/2		1 1/2			1	1		
1 1/2		murdo mc Neill	11	3	4		3	2	1		1 1/2	1 1/2		
1		finlay mc ean vic unlay	7	6	8	1/2		1 1/2			1	1		
1/2		kenneth the smith the smith	3	10	-		1		3		1/2	1/2		
1 1/2		patrick mc ean vic Conchie	11	3	4		3	2	1		1 1/2	1 1/2		
1		neill mc iver	7	6	8	1/2		1 1/2			1	1		
1		doull mc Coill mc illichalum vic ferquar	7	6	8	1/2		1 1/2			1	1		
1/2		doull mc allister	3	10	-		1		3		1/2	1/2		
7	-		175	-	-	6 1/2		16 1/2		12	22	16	1	
<u>Linga in Paba</u>														
1		finlay mc ean glase	7	6	8	1	-	1	-		1	1		
1 1/2		Ewine mc illichalum glase	11	3	4	1 1/2	-	1 1/2	-		1 1/2	1 1/2		
1/2		angus moire	3	10	-					1	1/2	1/2		
1/2		Malcom glase	15	-	-					4	2	1		
1/2		finlay mc illichalum glase	15	-	-					4	2	1		
1		gillichalum mc ean reweich	7	6	8					2	1	1		
2	-		60	-	-	2 1/2	-	2 1/2	-	11	8	6		
<u>Middletowne in Paba</u>														
1 1/2		ronie mc Innishe	33	-	-		3	5	1		3	3		
1/2		donald mc ean vic unlay	11	-	-		1	1	3		1	1		
2	-		44	-	-	1	-	7	-		4	4		

Rental of Harris 1680 (2)

Land held			Town or Holding Tenant	money rent			Meal		Beane		Victual	Kitchen	Weddies	Mort
1 ^d	4 ^d	clitick		new	sh	d	bolts	ffiv	bolts	ffiv	bolts	stones		
			<u>Northtowne in Paba</u>											
1½			malcom ope	40	-	-	6	-				6	3	
1½			John his sone	40	-	-	6	-				6	3	
3				80	-	-	12	-				12	6	
			<u>Esay & Eue</u>											
3½	yro		master John Cambell	140	-	-					16	16	6	1
	½		donaId baine mc ean vic Coill vaine	7	6	8		1	2	-		1	1	
	½		finlay mc ean	7	6	8		1	2	-		1	1	
	1		ean dow mc ean vaine	15	-	-	½		4	-		2	2	
		3	ean mc Coill vaine	11	3	4		½	3	-		½	½	
		3	Ewine mc Coill vaine	11	3	4		½	3	-		½	½	
		3	gillicrist mak rorie duiffe	11	3	4		½	3	-		½	½	
		3	donaId mc ean vic urchie vic Caskill	11	3	4		½	3	-		½	½	
		3	gillichalum mc urchie vic ean duiffe	11	3	4		½	3	-		½	½	
		3	ean mc ean vic urchie vic Caskill	11	3	4		½	3	-		½	½	
		3	donaId mc Neill vic farkirt	11	3	4		½	3	-		½	½	
		3	gillichalum mc ean vaine	11	3	4		½	3	-		½	½	
5½				260	-	-	4	-	32	-	16	32	22	1
			<u>Drimffount</u>											
½	½		murdo mc Coill vic kenneth	25	-	-						¼	¼	
	1		ean mc illespie douyne	10	-	-						½	½	
	½		allister browster	5	-	-						¼	¼	
1	-			40	-	-						2	2	
			<u>South Coppiffell</u>											
2			ean mc allister	72	6	8						4	4	
			<u>North Coppiffell</u>											
2	yro and 1m Southtowne		normand mc leod	100	-	-	5	-				10	6	1
			<u>South Scarsta</u>											
3	yro		for the Laird his use											

Rental of Harris 1680 (3)

land held 1 st 4 th cillitick	Town or Holding Tenant	money rent mer sh d	Meal bolls fir	Bease bolls fir	Virtual 5 1/2 B bolls	Kitchen bolls 5 1/2 B stones	Waddis Man
4 yrog	<u>North Scarsta</u> finlay mc finlay	130 - -	10 1/2			13	9 1/2
2 3 yrog	<u>Mikle Borrowe</u> angus mc illespik	130 - -	3			4	3
5 1/2 + the half of former bay aded to dillo 5 1/2	<u>Midle Borrowe & fformish bay</u> Ewine mc petson	53 6 8	2 3			6 1/2	6 1/2
2 3	allister mc illichalum oipe	53 6 8	2 3			6 1/2	6 1/2
		107 - -	5 1/2			13	13
	<u>litttle Borrowe</u>						
3	the smith	22 6 8	2 1			3	3
1	donald mc willhame vic persone	30 - -	3			4	4
1	tormod mc illicrist vic urchie	30 - -	3			4	4
2 3		82 6 8	8 1			11	11
	<u>Horshest</u>						
1 1/2	tormod mc ean vic tormod	42 - -	1 1/2			3	3
1	keneth mc Innish vic Conchue	30 - -	1			2	2
2 1/2		72 - -	2 1/2			5	5
	<u>Schbest</u>						
2 yrog	angus mc kenzie	120 - -	5 -			12	8
	<u>Mariwafe</u>						
lands theirog	John oipe	40 - -	allenarly				
	<u>Scalpa</u>						
2 parts of ygt pence 1/3 part yrog	donald mc urchie veir donald baine	46 8 8 23 4 8	allenarly				
		70 - -					

Rental of Harris 1680 (4)

Land held 1 ^d 2 ^d 3 ^d 4 ^d 5 ^d	Town or Holding Tenant	money rent mer.	Meal sh d	Beare bolls ffe.	Victual Kitchen 1/2 M 1/2 B. 1/2 butter 1/2 cheese	Wedder Alack
	<u>Lowskintine</u>					
3 yro	nine vic persone	80	-	-	7 14	6 1
	<u>Tarrasay Pably</u>					
2 yro	donald mc ean vic tormod	60	-	-	8 4	1/2
2	angus mc illichalum oip	60	-	-	8 4	1/2
4		120	-	-	16 8	1
	<u>Raa</u>					
3 yro	donald mc kenzie	100	-	-	12 6	1
	<u>Eie</u>					
2	Kenneth morisone	80	-	-	14 6	1
2	William morisone	80	-	-	14 6	1
4		160	-	-	28 12	2
	<u>Hussinesse & Scarp</u>					
Lands yro	Sir Normand	280	-	-	allanarly	
	<u>Stronde</u>					
Lands yro	John Kenzie	80	-	-	12 16	6 1
	<u>Rowdille</u>					
1/2	cristopher mcqueine	for caskup of peitts & winding of them to the laird his house				
1	roxie mc queine for wch he payes	10	-	-	+ the other half for his service within the country	
1	nine roxie	18	-	-	1	
1	Marpatt nine Lauglane	18	-	-	1	
1/2	neill mc itie	10	-	-		
1	dupall mc Connell	18	-	-	1	
1/2	malcom mc Coill vaine	10	-	-		
1/2	Eane mc illichalum	15	-	-		
1/2	angus mc allane	15	-	-		
1/2	donald mc unlay vic illipatruck	10	-	-		

Rental of Harris 1680 (5)

Land held				Town or Holding Tenant	money rent			Meal		Bease		Michael 3M 3B	Kitchen 3M 3B 3 chaise	Wetters	North
1 ^a	1 ^a	1 ^a	clibick knock		mer	sh	d	bolls	ffir	bolls	ffir	bolls	stones		
				<u>Rowdille - Continued</u>											
		$\frac{1}{2}$		Ean mc Munnichell	10	-	-								
		$\frac{1}{2}$		angus mc Cumra	10	-	-								
		1		Patrick mc Coill rewech	5	-	-								
		1		Ean mc Coill vaine vic thomase	5	-	-								
		1		mak Coill itraue	5	-	-								
		1		finlay mc vic ean	5	-	-								
	$\frac{1}{2}$			angus mc Coill vic Ewine	36	-	-								
		1		donald mc Mureid	5	-	-								
		1		murdo mc Conchie	5	-	-								
		1		allister gordon the other half payes	10	-	-	the on half yro for his service fferman							
		$\frac{1}{2}$		mak ffaick	10	-	-								
		1		John dinquall	18	-	-								
1	-	-	-		248	-	-						3		

ffinis.

[illegible]

Bonds repaid to Northrop & Co. for			
Bonds of an m th ally or allyish	0 42	00	0
Bonds of an m th ally or allyish	0 47	00	0
Bonds of an m th ally or allyish	0 10	20	0
Bonds of an m th ally or allyish	0 00	20	0
Bonds of an m th ally or allyish	0 00	00	0

Roadall from off 180:				
From Anglo. docto in Coll byt pringle	002	00	0	
From Malcom in Coll byt pringle	006	00	0	
From Anglo. in alland	005	06	0	
From Anglo. in Amra	002	06	0	
From Anglo. in Coll byt pringle	004	12	0	
From Anglo. in Coll byt pringle	010	00	0	
From Anglo. in Coll byt pringle	005	00	0	
From Anglo. in Coll byt pringle	005	00	0	
From Anglo. in Coll byt pringle	033	00	0	
From Anglo. in Coll byt pringle	010	00	0	
From Anglo. in Coll byt pringle	056	00	0	

John Ingraham
 50 - 00
 01 - 75

Total 795 12 10

The rests of the sillwer dutie of the Herisse and ills theirts belonging for
Grop & yeare 1678 and of the yeare 1679 october the 15 day 1680

Town or Holding		Tenant	rests		
			mer.	sh.	d.
Esay	<i>different pen</i>	finlay Caxnbell	40	-	-
		the sd finlaye has payed both cesse and their rests			
		Eane mc Coill wayne	1	3	4
		Donald mak neill vic faskirt	20	-	-
		gillcrist mc rorie duyfe		4	8
Paba: Kirktowne:	K	murdo mc Neill	2	-	8
Linpa: Midgetowne	K	Neill mc iver		11	4
	L	finlay mc illichalum glase	3	-	-
	L	Ewine mc illichalum glase	2	6	8
	L	gillichalum glase	3	3	4
	L	finlay mc glase		6	8
	L	gillichalum mc ean reweich		3	4
	M	rorie mc Innish	12	-	-
South copiffell &	S.C	Ean mc allister awinich	42	-	-
North copiphell &	N.C	normand mc leod	47	-	-
Midle borrow	M.B	Ewine mc persone	15	10	-
	M.B	angus mc illipadrick		10	6
	L.B	tormod mc innish vic urdie		6	8
Tarransay Hussinesse	T	Kenneth Morosone	8	-	-
& Scarp Scalpa &	H+S	Sir Normand Mak leod	400	-	-
Mary	S.C	donald mc urdie voire	19	-	-
	M	Ean oye mc ean vic Innish	40	-	-
	<i>different pen</i>	rests be the chamber land for Sir Normand; of ye year ^{nearly 1690} eighty: the summe eighty score markis Sir Normand rests the wholl dutie of crope and year 1680 beinge the summe of	280	-	-

Harris rents of the silver dutie 1679 (2)

Town or Holding	Tenant	rents		
		mer	sh	d
Roadall	angus dowe mc Coill vic innish	1	-	-
	malcom mc Coill vaine	6	-	-
	angus mc allane	3	6	8
	angus mc Cumra	2	6	8
	Malcom mc Coill reivech	4	12	4
	mc Coill itraue	10	-	-
	finlay mc vic Eane	5	-	4
	mak vic suine	3	-	-
	Ean mc Coill vic Ewine	33	-	-
	allister gordone	10	-	-
	John dinguall	56	-	-
Sum: totalis		793	12	10

The rents of the Cesse of Crop & yeare 1679 october ye 15 day 1680

Town or Holding	Tenant	rents		
		men	sh	d
Esay Kirktowne in Paba	E Ean mc Coill vaine		10	-
Linpa & Middletowne	E donald mc Ean vic urchie		10	-
and North in Paba	E Ean dow mc Ean vic urchie		10	-
	E master John Cambell	14	-	-
	K angus mc Neill	1	-	-
	K murdo mc Neill	1	6	8
	K Neill mc iver	1	-	-
	K donald mc allisher		6	8
	K gillichalum mc Neill	1	-	-
	K donald mc Neill	1	-	-
	K finlay mc Ean vic unlai	1	-	-
	K kenneth mc Ean vic unlai		6	8
	K Patrick mc Ean vic conchie	1	6	8
	K Normand mc Neill	18	-	-
	L angus moire		6	8
	M roie mc Innish	3	-	-
	N gillichalum oie	7	-	-
	N Ean mc illichalum oie	5	-	-
Drumffounnt Southtowne	D Murdo mc Ean vic Coill	2	6	8
& Northtowne of Copifell	D Ean illispe	1	6	8
Little borrow & Seliback	SC Ean mc allisher awinich	10	-	-
	LB the smith	3	-	-
	LB donald mc willame	4	-	-
	S angus mc Kenzie	8	-	-
Taransay Scalpa	Road donald mc Kenzie	12	-	-
Strond & Roadall	Pab donald mc Ean vic tormod	8	-	-
	Pab angus mc illichalum oie	8	-	-
	Sc° donald mc urchie voire	4	-	-
	S John mc kenzie	20	-	-

Harris nests of the Cesse 1679 (2)

Town or Holding	Tenant	Nests		
		men	sh	d
Roadall	angus mc Cumra		6	8
	angus mc allan		10	-
	mc suine		6	8
	allister gordon	1	-	-
	rorie mc queene	1	-	-
	Ean mc illimichell		6	8
	mak itire		6	8
	mak Coill itrawe		6	8
	donald baine		6	8
	finlay mc vic Eane		3	4
Suma totalis		145	10	-

The following is a copy of the original document.

BH 12060000 2 Malcom diggs his Robert Jr payed - - - 15 - 00 - 00
for his m jnnist y^e p^y 18 - - - 35 - 00 - 00

Linga: — *Annals in Michaelmas* — 11 — 00 — 00
 — *Michaelmas* — 01 — 01 — 01

Angus mair & ye payed	03	05	00
Simlay mair & ye payed	09	12	00
		06	08

Order for	Smith in San glas yr payed	07	00	00
	Malcom in San glas yr payed	06	00	00
		15	00	00

Patent m Dan by touch & y ^e payd		07	06	05
Primo m Hott by roll by Dan y ^e payd		07	06	08
Tenall m cl eigh by roll by Dan y ^e payd		07	06	08

[Faint handwritten entries, likely bleed-through from the reverse side.]

Dona m. Maria	68	00	00
Gloria m. Maria	07	00	00
Dona m. Maria	07	00	00

Clings m ^t 2 ^d 1/2	07	06	00
ma ^t 1 st 2 ^d 1/2	07	10	00

Malcom m^r san bapn ye payed ————— cy — ob — as

van m Roonstke yrl payen	16	03	01
Gilsrult m Roonstke yrl payen	12	05	01
Dillake innille m Roonstke yrl payen	27	12	01

June m ^o 18 th 1863	18	06	08
July m ^o 18 th 1863	07	06	08
Aug m ^o 18 th 1863	07	06	08

Prins	ni	rosl	baghe	ye	payed	—	—	—	07	06	08
Prins	ni	rosl	baghe	ye	payed	—	—	—	11	05	04
Prins	ni	rosl	baghe	ye	payed	—	—	—	00	00	00

Donald m. Dan bit w. s. b. y. r. w. a. y. d. — 14 — 06 — 08
Donald barn d. v. w. a. y. d. — 06 — 09 — 06

Paul Dow in bar/lyne yr payd	11	05	00
Walter John Campbell yr payd	15	00	00
	140	00	00

Quinto - Dring Point

Donat. m van h't rool v's wagen	0	50	00	00
Donat. m illigont v'p d' d	0	10	00	00
Donat. m illigont v'p d' d	0	00	00	00

[illegible]

11. *Bostrychia angustata* m. *Bostrychia angustata* — 150 — 00 — 00

5th	bookcase	in parlor	1st page	029	00
	all glass	in parlor	1st page	029	00
	can't	in parlor	1st page	029	00

The Rental of Mackwoods Land in the Haries as it is sett to the Tenants thereof, at
white Sunday 1703 years

land held		Town	moneyrent							wethers	catts	lythes	
1 ^o	$\frac{1}{4}$ cleage	Name of Tenant	mer.	sh	d	bolts	fir.	peds	stones			bolts	fir.
Northtown in Pabbay 3 pennies													
$\frac{1}{2}$		Roric M ^c Innes	40	-	-	6	-	-	4	2			
$\frac{1}{2}$		Kenneth M ^c gillichalum Glasie	13	4	4	2	-	-	2	1			
	$\frac{1}{2}$	Niell M ^c Ean vic Niell	10	-	-	$1\frac{1}{2}$	-	-	$1\frac{1}{2}$	1			
	$\frac{1}{2}$	Angus M ^c gillichrist	10	-	-	$1\frac{1}{2}$	-	-	$1\frac{1}{2}$	1			
		Ewan M ^c Lachan	6	9	-	1	-	-	1	1			
3			80	-	-	12	-	-	10	6		6	
Kungay 2 pennies													
1		Alex ^r M ^c gillichalum oip	30	-	-	5	-	10	3	2			
1		Roric M ^c Wurachie vic Niell	30	-	-	5	-	10	3	1			
2			60	-	-	11	1		6	3		4	2
Kucklow 7 pennies													
1		Murdoch M ^c Niell	30	-	-	7	-	-	3	3			
$\frac{1}{2}$		Roric M ^c Niell	15	-	-	$3\frac{1}{2}$	-	-	2	1			
	3	Ewan M ^c Niell	22	6	8	$4\frac{1}{2}$	-	-	3	2			
$\frac{1}{2}$		Finlay M ^c Ean vic Finlay	15	-	-	3	-	-	2	2			
	$\frac{1}{2}$	Hushlen M ^c Ni Card	10	10	-	2	-	10	1	1			
	$\frac{1}{2}$	Bernald M ^c Doill vic Innes	10	10	-	2	-	10	1	1			
$3\frac{1}{2}$		Alexander M ^c Leod	100	-	-	12	-	-	12	6	1	5	
7			204	-	-	35	1	-	24	16	1	17	2

1 ^o	2 ^o	clutige kassick	Town & Name of Tenant	mer	sh	d	bolls	fir	pecks	skans	wedden	mark	tythes	ces
			Roudale a penny											
	1 $\frac{1}{2}$		Malcolm M' Rorie & his mother in law	30	-	-								
	1		Herquhar M' Boile in Yrave	20	-	-								
	1		Normand M' Rorie	20	-	-								
	1		Kenneth M' gillichrist	20	-	-								
	1		Rorie M' gillichrist	20	-	-								
	1		William M' Rorie	20	-	-								
	1		James Dingwall	20	-	-								
	1		John oip M' Eanduy	20	-	-								
	1		William Rosse	20	-	-				altered later				
	$\frac{1}{2}$		Donald M' vic Cuill	10	-	-								
	$\frac{1}{2}$		Normand M' gilliphedder	10	-	-								
	$\frac{1}{2}$		Angus M' Rorie Hushlon	10	-	-								
	$\frac{1}{2}$		John M' Swan	10	-	-								
	$\frac{1}{2} + \frac{1}{2}$		Lachlan M' Lachlan	20	-	-				and half Clutige for foware & as much for pay altered later				
	$\frac{1}{2}$		John M' Gunnor vic Mells selick	10	-	-								
	$\frac{1}{2}$		Normand M' Innis vic Doill vic William	10	-	-								
	1		He sd Normand his for 1704 for	20	-	-								
	$\frac{1}{2}$		Mr. John Laming	10	-	-				given be the Jains free altered later				
	1		Donald M' gillibrade	5	-	-								
	1		Kathrin rien vic gillipatruck his for	4	-	-				being a poor widow				
	$\frac{1}{2}$		gillichalun M' Ean vic gillichalun	20	-	-				altered				
	$\frac{1}{2}$		Nien vic Amerad	10	-	-								
	3		John M' Hornet v' Coile	15	-	-								
	1		Normand M' Innis in Cropk 1704	20	-	-								
	1		Florence rien alister	5	-	-								
1	-	3		339	-	-							32	16
			[The bay called Finisbay											
			Neill M' gillichrist	24	-	-				1	1		3	
			Strand 5 pennies											
5			Donald Campbell	70	-	-	12	-	-	16	6	1	42	

Rentall of Haries 1703 Continued

lands held			Town	money rent			which is to be paid					
1 ^o	2 ^o	chilg	Name of Tenant	me	sh	d	bells	flrs	pecks	stones		
			Essay 4 parrs									
	1/2		Angus Bain	7	6	8	12	-	-	1	1	
	1/2		Donald M ^c Ean vic Currachie	7	6	8	12	-	-	1	1	
	1/2		Alister M ^c gillespeck Alister	7	6	8	12	-	-	1	1	
	1 1/2		Fergus M ^c Ean vic Currachie	5	8	4	1	-	2	1	1	
	1/2		John M ^c Kynrick vic Gilliphatrie	7	6	8	12	-	-	1	1	
	1		Malcolm M ^c Varrachie vic Ean Dug & Lussore John	15	-	-	3	-	-	1	1	
	1		John M ^c Kynrick vic Kerecher	3	10	-		3	-	1	1	
	1/2		Angus M ^c Gillichalun vic Varrachie	7	6	8	12	-	-	1	1	
	1		John M ^c Innis vic Varrachie	3	10	-		3	-	1	1	
	1		Erick men doill v ^c Innis	3	10	-		3	-	1	1	
	1		Ann men doill vic Innis	3	10	-		3	-	1	1	
	1 1/2		John M ^c Eachan	5	8	4	1	-	2	1	1	
	1 1/2		Malcolm M ^c Ean vic Varrachie	5	8	4	1	-	2	1	1	
	1		Angus M ^c Ean vic Varrachie	3	10	-		3	-	1	1	
	1/2		Donald M ^c Innis vic Ean vic Currachie	7	6	8	12	-	-	1	1	
	1		Angus M ^c Coill van	15	-	-	3	-	-	1	1	
	1		Gillichalun vic Ean vic Gillichalun									
	1		M ^c Cush & his mother	3	10	-		3	-	1	1	
	1		Sandie grouker	3	10	-		3	-	1	1	
2 1/2	1 1/2	grs eye	Hunlay Menwone & his brother Will	140	-	-	16	-	-	16	6	1
To remember that they have 4 bells & 4 stones free for the first year, & that they are not to pay their bells till they take a crop out of the ground, & a blid for them to pay the sds bells the year they leave the land.												
5	2	-		258	1	8	35	2	2	23 1/2	13 1/2	1

1 ^o	2 ^o	Town & Name of Tenant	curr	sh	d	bells	flor	pecks	stones	wooden	meats	Tythes	case	Notes
		<u>Little Borrow 11 fardings</u>												
2	3	Angus M ^c gillichalum oip	80	-	-	6	-	-	8	4		22	11	4
		To remember that he has for this year forgiven him				2	-	-	2	2				
		<u>Mulle Borrow 11 fardings</u>												
2	3	Kenneth Monson	80	-	-	3	-	-	6	4		22	11	4
		<u>Muckle Borrow 11 fardings</u>												
2	3	The widdow & her two sons	130	-	-	3	-	-	4	3		22	11	2
		one half being twixt the widdow & her youngest son. The other half to her eldest son Murdoch												
		To remember that they have the Bells, stones & widders free this year.												
		<u>North Scarista 4 pennies</u>												
3		Malcolm Campbell	80	-	-									
		Considering his Cesse this year he has gotten both money & casualties free												
1		Angus Campbell	40	-	-	2	-	-	4	2				
4			120	-	-	2	-	-	4	2				
		<u>South Scarista 3 pennies</u>												
1		The old Smith	26	9	-	1	-	-						
2		The young Smith	53	4	4	2	-	-						
		Also they pay behixt them							4	4				
3			80	-	-	3			4	4				
		<u>North Quoipuell 3 pennies & a farding</u>												
2		Norman Mackleod	100	-	-	5	-	-	10	6	1	24	12	
		<u>South Quoipuell 3 pennies</u>												
3		The munster	90	-	-				6	6		21		
		<u>Drumaphuirt a penny</u>												
1		Nien ni Kard	50	-	-				2	2		8	4	2
		<u>Scalpy</u>												
		John of	200	-	-									
		including Tythes										4		

The rentall of Harries for 1712

¹⁰	Town	mer	sh	d	bolle	ffiv	mark
7	Kirktown	212	-	-	18	-	1
2	Lingay	64	-	-	3	2	-
3	Northtown	50	-	-	-	-	-
3	South Scarista	96	-	-	3	-	-
4	North Scarista	100	-	-	-	-	-
2-3	Meikle Borue	80	-	-	2	-	-
2-3	Middle Borue	80	-	-	2	-	-
2-3	Little Borue	80	-	-	2	-	-
47-2	Quopivels & Drumphunt	240	-	-	-	-	-
4	Ensay	450	-	-	-	-	-
5	Strond & Killipray	70	-	-	12	-	1
	Scalpay & Manife	180	-	-	-	-	-
1	Rowdile	295	-	-	-	-	-
		1,997	-	-	42	2	2
	42 Bolle 2 ffiv 2 warts =	291	8	4			
	Harris Total =	2,288	8	4			
20	Berneray	250	-	-			
	The Ladies wadset	50	-	-			
	Hirt ferm	100	-	-			
	Cess of the Saids Lands	167	-	-			
	Total =	2,855	8	4			

A' Judicial Rental of Herries belonging heretofore to Normand MacLeod of that ilk Made up from the oaths of the Severall persons after designed taken in presence of the said Laird of MacLeod by Normand MacLeod of Lynich his Barron Bailie sitting in Judgment in a forced Court To which official John Tuack wyter in Dunpall as clerk and Kenneth Mackenzie Wyter there as Pro^r fiscal all Dunvegan the Sixth day of August 1724 years

Compeised in obedience to Citations given by the ground officer

Town	v. can ante name	Scots Moryfoul Marts	Marts money	Cess	Teinds	Teind	Teind	Teind	Teind	Teind	Teind	Teind	Teind	Teind	Teind	Teind	Teind	Teind	Teind	Teind	Teind	Teind	Teind	Teind	Teind	Teind	Teind	Teind	Teind	Teind	Teind	Teind	Teind	Teind	Teind	Teind	Teind	Teind	Teind	Teind	Teind	Teind	Teind	Teind	Teind	Teind	Teind	Teind	Teind	Teind	Teind	Teind	Teind	Teind	Teind	Teind	Teind	Teind	Teind	Teind	Teind	Teind	Teind	Teind	Teind	Teind	Teind	Teind	Teind	Teind	Teind	Teind	Teind	Teind	Teind	Teind	Teind	Teind	Teind	Teind	Teind	Teind	Teind	Teind	Teind	Teind	Teind	Teind	Teind	Teind	Teind	Teind	Teind	Teind	Teind	Teind	Teind	Teind	Teind	Teind	Teind	Teind	Teind	Teind	Teind	Teind	Teind	Teind	Teind	Teind	Teind	Teind	Teind	Teind	Teind	Teind	Teind	Teind	Teind	Teind	Teind	Teind	Teind	Teind	Teind	Teind	Teind	Teind	Teind	Teind	Teind	Teind	Teind	Teind	Teind	Teind	Teind	Teind	Teind	Teind	Teind	Teind	Teind	Teind	Teind	Teind	Teind	Teind	Teind	Teind	Teind	Teind	Teind	Teind	Teind	Teind	Teind	Teind	Teind	Teind	Teind	Teind	Teind	Teind	Teind	Teind	Teind	Teind	Teind	Teind	Teind	Teind	Teind	Teind	Teind	Teind	Teind	Teind	Teind	Teind	Teind	Teind	Teind	Teind	Teind	Teind	Teind	Teind	Teind	Teind	Teind	Teind	Teind	Teind	Teind	Teind	Teind	Teind	Teind	Teind	Teind	Teind	Teind	Teind	Teind	Teind	Teind	Teind	Teind	Teind	Teind	Teind	Teind	Teind	Teind	Teind	Teind	Teind	Teind	Teind	Teind	Teind	Teind	Teind	Teind	Teind	Teind	Teind	Teind	Teind	Teind	Teind	Teind	Teind	Teind	Teind	Teind	Teind	Teind	Teind	Teind	Teind	Teind	Teind	Teind	Teind	Teind	Teind	Teind	Teind	Teind	Teind	Teind	Teind	Teind	Teind	Teind	Teind	Teind	Teind	Teind	Teind	Teind	Teind	Teind	Teind	Teind	Teind	Teind	Teind	Teind	Teind	Teind	Teind	Teind	Teind	Teind	Teind	Teind	Teind	Teind	Teind	Teind	Teind	Teind	Teind	Teind	Teind	Teind	Teind	Teind	Teind	Teind	Teind	Teind	Teind	Teind	Teind	Teind	Teind	Teind	Teind	Teind	Teind	Teind	Teind	Teind	Teind	Teind	Teind	Teind	Teind	Teind	Teind	Teind	Teind	Teind	Teind	Teind	Teind	Teind	Teind	Teind	Teind	Teind	Teind	Teind	Teind	Teind	Teind	Teind	Teind	Teind	Teind	Teind	Teind	Teind	Teind	Teind	Teind	Teind	Teind	Teind	Teind	Teind	Teind	Teind	Teind	Teind	Teind	Teind	Teind	Teind	Teind	Teind	Teind	Teind	Teind	Teind	Teind	Teind	Teind	Teind	Teind	Teind	Teind	Teind	Teind	Teind	Teind	Teind	Teind	Teind	Teind	Teind	Teind	Teind	Teind	Teind	Teind	Teind	Teind	Teind	Teind	Teind	Teind	Teind	Teind	Teind	Teind	Teind	Teind	Teind	Teind	Teind	Teind	Teind	Teind	Teind	Teind	Teind	Teind	Teind	Teind	Teind	Teind	Teind	Teind	Teind	Teind	Teind	Teind	Teind	Teind	Teind	Teind	Teind	Teind	Teind	Teind	Teind	Teind	Teind	Teind	Teind	Teind	Teind	Teind	Teind	Teind	Teind	Teind	Teind	Teind	Teind	Teind	Teind	Teind	Teind	Teind	Teind	Teind	Teind	Teind	Teind	Teind	Teind	Teind	Teind	Teind	Teind	Teind	Teind	Teind	Teind	Teind	Teind	Teind	Teind	Teind	Teind	Teind	Teind	Teind	Teind	Teind	Teind	Teind	Teind	Teind	Teind	Teind	Teind	Teind	Teind	Teind	Teind	Teind	Teind	Teind	Teind	Teind	Teind	Teind	Teind	Teind	Teind	Teind	Teind	Teind	Teind	Teind	Teind	Teind	Teind	Teind	Teind	Teind	Teind	Teind	Teind	Teind	Teind	Teind	Teind	Teind	Teind	Teind	Teind	Teind	Teind	Teind	Teind	Teind	Teind	Teind	Teind	Teind	Teind	Teind	Teind	Teind	Teind	Teind	Teind	Teind	Teind	Teind	Teind	Teind	Teind	Teind	Teind	Teind	Teind	Teind	Teind	Teind	Teind	Teind	Teind	Teind	Teind	Teind	Teind	Teind	Teind	Teind	Teind	Teind	Teind	Teind	Teind	Teind	Teind	Teind	Teind	Teind	Teind	Teind	Teind	Teind	Teind	Teind	Teind	Teind	Teind	Teind	Teind	Teind	Teind	Teind	Teind	Teind	Teind	Teind	Teind	Teind	Teind	Teind	Teind	Teind	Teind	Teind	Teind	Teind	Teind	Teind	Teind	Teind	Teind	Teind	Teind	Teind	Teind	Teind	Teind	Teind	Teind	Teind	Teind	Teind	Teind	Teind	Teind	Teind	Teind	Teind	Teind	Teind	Teind	Teind	Teind	Teind	Teind	Teind	Teind	Teind	Teind	Teind	Teind	Teind	Teind	Teind	Teind	Teind	Teind	Teind	Teind	Teind	Teind	Teind	Teind	Teind	Teind	Teind	Teind	Teind	Teind	Teind	Teind	Teind	Teind	Teind	Teind	Teind	Teind	Teind	Teind	Teind	Teind	Teind	Teind	Teind	Teind	Teind	Teind	Teind	Teind	Teind	Teind	Teind	Teind	Teind	Teind	Teind	Teind	Teind	Teind	Teind	Teind	Teind	Teind	Teind	Teind	Teind	Teind	Teind	Teind	Teind	Teind	Teind	Teind	Teind	Teind	Teind	Teind	Teind	Teind	Teind	Teind	Teind	Teind	Teind	Teind	Teind	Teind	Teind	Teind	Teind	Teind	Teind	Teind	Teind	Teind	Teind	Teind	Teind	Teind	Teind	Teind	Teind	Teind	Teind	Teind	Teind	Teind	Teind	Teind	Teind	Teind	Teind	Teind	Teind	Teind	Teind	Teind	Teind	Teind	Teind	Teind	Teind	Teind	Teind	Teind	Teind	Teind	Teind	Teind	Teind	Teind	Teind	Teind	Teind	Teind	Teind	Teind	Teind	Teind	Teind	Teind	Teind	Teind	Teind	Teind	Teind	Teind	Teind	Teind	Teind	Teind	Teind	Teind	Teind	Teind	Teind	Teind	Teind	Teind	Teind	Teind	Teind	Teind	Teind	Teind	Teind	Teind	Teind	Teind	Teind	Teind	Teind	Teind	Teind	Teind	Teind	Teind	Teind	Teind	Teind	Teind	Teind	Teind	Teind	Teind	Teind	Teind	Teind	Teind	Teind	Teind	Teind	Teind	Teind	Teind	Teind	Teind	Teind	Teind	Teind	Teind	Teind	Teind	Teind	Teind	Teind	Teind	Teind	Teind	Teind	Teind	Teind	Teind	Teind	Teind	Teind	Teind	Teind	Teind	Teind	Teind	Teind	Teind	Teind	Teind	Te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Town	Scots Money	rent	Mark	Mark money	Cess	Teinds	Teind Virtual	Virtual	Mark	beare	hicken	butter	cheese				
Name of Tenant	£	sh	d	£	sh	d	£	£	sh	d	bolts	bolts	bolts	bolts	stones	stones	stones
Roudill 1p																	
William Ross ground officer of Herries	24	2	13	4	including	Mark money	less	Teinds	and	noe	more						
Strond 5p																	
John Campbell Mercin	✓	46	13	4	1		10	32	-	-	12		16				6
The said John Campbell in Strond being sworn as aforesaid depone That when the said place was sett to him for three years Commencing from whitsunday 1723 by Tallisker & McInish he promised Ane hundred merks Scots of grassum payable by equal portions in three years																	
Ensay, Eyce & Drumfunt 6 $\frac{1}{2}$ p																	
Rorie Mackod of Ullinsh	✓	300	-	-			67	10	-	-	and	noe	more				
North or Meikle Scarisla 4p																	
Normand Monson Mercin	✓	138	13	4			18	13	4		8		6				8
South or Lillie Scarisla 3p																	
Even Mackod & John Mackenray	xx	80	-	-			included	16	-	-	6		4 $\frac{1}{2}$				6
Meikle Botton 2 $\frac{3}{4}$ p																	
Mr Anday MacAnday Minister of Herries the present possessor	✓	60	3	4	mark money	less	included	14	13	4	2		2				3
Middle Botton 2 $\frac{3}{4}$ p																	
Neill Morison Mercin		73	6	8	"	"	included	12	3	4	2 $\frac{1}{2}$		2 $\frac{1}{4}$				3
*Probable rent 1735 60-5-4 = 73-16-8 and 1728 8-60-3-4 + 15-13-2 = 73-16-8 calculated at 7																	
Little Botton 2 $\frac{3}{4}$ p																	
possessed by Malcolm Campbell Mercin	✓	60	3	4	"	"	14	13	4		2 $\frac{1}{2}$		3				3
South Capophaille 3p																	
Malcolm Morison Mercin	✓	94	-	-			14	-	-				3				6
Scalpay 1p																	
Donald Campbell	"	✓	133	6	8		5	6	8		and	noe	more				

Judiciall Rentall of Herries 1724 Continued

Town	Scots Money	lin.	Mart.	Mark Money	Cass	Tende.	Tende Actual	Value	Meal	Beere	Waxha	Butter	Deere	Wool	
Name of Tenant	£	sh	d	£	sh	d	£	£	sh	d	coll	coll	coll	coll	coll
North Capenhairt 3 ¹ / ₂ p															
Roderick Campbell therein	66	13	4	1			6	16	-	-		5	10		6
Hinsbury															
Roderick Macleod of Ullinish	13	6	8	and see more											
Berrina & pertinence being 25p															
William Macleod of Berrina WAS	166	13	4												
Tende is bought for 400 valued rent 25															
But that Talisker & Ullinish, Macleods Chamberlains at the last sett were demanding Three hundred merks money rent which the Deponent did not undergoe to pay															
Isle of Pabbay Once 16p but now only 10p															
The said Roderick Macleod of Ullinish	226	13	4					28	35				15	6	15
Isle of Hirt or Saint Filda															
Roderick Macleod of Ullinish												16	and see more		

Dunvegan 11th August 1724 In presence of William Martine of Enea Bailly Commenced the said William Macleod of Berrina who being sworn Deposed That the ffew duty of his wadsett in Herries from the laird of Macleod is Thirty Three pounds Six shillings Eight pennies Scots money & no more

Ensay 4p & Drumfuint 1p															
Angus Campbell in Ensay	266	13	4					15							
But that Talisker & Ullinish for a four years Rack of the sd place demanded One hundred and Thirty Three pounds six shillings Eight pennies of grassum to be payed proportionally in four years with the rent Commencing for the Crop 1722 That he did undergoe the payment of One hundred merks thereof and left the other Hundred merks to Macleods discretion															

'B'

Indicall Rental of Houses pertaining heretofore to the Hon^{ble} Norrmand MacLeod of that ilk Taken from the
 oaths of the Several Tenants etc In presence of Norrmand MacLeod of Dignish Bayllie to the Said Laird of
 MacLeod att Dunnepan 6th & 11th of August 1724.

penned of land	Name of Tenants	Money including cess & mark money			Tennell			Tennel victual victual rent		Meal	Bees	Butter	cheese	wetted	
		£	sh	d	£	sh	d	bolts	bolts	bolts	bolts	stones	stones		
10	Isle of Pabay	226	13	4				28	35 ¹ / ₂			15	6	15	
25	Bernira	166	13	4				25							Nora Bernira payes cess for 40 Stalls valued rent above the rent
6 ¹ / ₂	Ensay, Ey & Drumquint	300	-	-				15							
3	South Capophail	94	-	-	14	-	-					3		6	
3 ¹ / ₄	North Capophail	66	13	4	16	-	-			5		5	5	6	Nora North Capophail payes cess & mark more
3	Little Scarasta	64	-	-	16	-	-			6		4 ¹ / ₂		6	
4	Mickle Scarasta	138	13	4	18	13	4			8		6		8	
2 ³ / ₄	Mickle Borrow	60	3	4	14	13	4			2		2		3	
2 ³ / ₄	Midle Borrow	60	3	4	13	13	4			2 ¹ / ₂		2 ¹ / ₄		3	
2 ³ / ₄	Little Borrow	60	3	4	14	13	4			2 ¹ / ₂		3		3	
1	Scalpay	133	6	8	5	6	8								
5	Strond	68	17	10	32	-	-	12				8	8	6	Nora Strond payes the cess & mark more
1	Roudill	221	6	8	21	6	8								
	ffinsbay	13	6	8											
	ffin duty of Bernira wodsett	33	6	8											
	Saint Kilda										16				
	Bernira wodsett				125	6	8								
	the house Strond & North Capophail observed on the margin etc	16	-	-											
	More out of Saint Kilda										2				
		1723	7	10	290	13	4	68	47 ¹ / ₂	26	18	48 ³ / ₄	19	56	2 marts allowe Bernira cess not liquidat

Nora the Chamberlaine charge themselves for the money rent cess & mark money
 of Bernira crop 1722 in the sum of £1786-12-6 which exceeds the above rental
 in £63-4-8d for which there is nothing to make up the deficit but the two marts
 & Bernira cess As also they charge themselves in 18 bolts for St Kilda
 notwithstanding it is given up in this rental but at 16 bolts wch makes the
 wch all rent 91 bolts 2 for

Rentall of the barony of Harris pertaining to Norman MacLeod of that ilk as
the same was sett by him in May 1735.

Pence of Land	Names of Towns	Rotten	Cleeve	Woods	Mark	Money Rents including Rent & Waste money			T. cunds			Actual 2 last years	
						£	sh	d	£	sh	d	bolts	fur
31 $\frac{1}{4}$	Bernera South & North Capvail	8	5	10	1	349	6	8	53	6	8	30	
5 $\frac{1}{2}$	Ensay & Eye in Capvail	-	-	-	-	300	-	-				15	
10	Luskinter, Sheallibost ^{Scrap} Housinish	6	6	8	1	376	-	-	53	6	8	5	
5	Strond & Caulipray	8	8	6	-	67	6	8	32	-	-	12	
1	Dumprunt	-	-	-	-	33	6	8	5	6	8		
3	Little Scarrista	4	-	4	-	69	6	8	16	-	-	4	
4	Maikle Scarrista	6	-	8	-	138	13	4	18	13	4	8	
5 $\frac{1}{2}$	Maikle & Middle Borrow	4 $\frac{1}{2}$	-	6	-	120	6	8	27	6	8	4	2
2 $\frac{3}{4}$	Little Borrow	3	-	3	-	60	3	4	14	13	4	2	2
4	Eye in Taransay	8	8	12	1	141	6	8	21	6	8	12	
	St Kilda	-	-	-	-	86	13	4					
3	Raa	12	-	6	1	72	13	4	16	-	-	4	
4	Parbill	8	8	12	1	88	-	-	21	6	8	12	
2 $\frac{1}{2}$	Hargisbost	2	2	4	-	58	6	8	13	6	8	2	2
5	Pabba containing Linga & Northkerson	2	-	2	-	63	6	8				16	
7	Kirktown	14	-	14	-	164	6	8				56	
1	Scalpay	-	-	-	-	133	6	8	5	6	8		
	Finsbay	-	-	-	-	20	-	-					
1	Loudill	-	-	-	-	221	6	8	21	6	8		
		85 $\frac{1}{2}$	37	95	5	2563	16	8	319	6	8	183	2

(Box 179)

	lb	sh	d
Money Rent, including Cess & Mark money is	2563	16	8
Tynds is	319	6	8
183 bolls 2 firlons victuall half meall half Bear at 8 miks per boll is	978	13	4
85 Stones & one half stone Butter at 4 sh S ^r pr stone is in Scots money	205	4	-
37 Stones cheese at 2 sh S ^r pr stone is in Scots money	44	8	-
95 weedens at 2 sh S ^r pr weed is in Scots money	114	-	-
5 mark at 10 miks each mark is	53	6	8
Torall is	4278	15	4

Harris Augmented Rents 1754

Place		Present Rent			Augmented Rents Converted & Custom			Total Rent			Gross sum		
		£	sh	d	£	sh	d	£	sh	d	£	sh	d
Bernera	Money Rent	349	6	8									
	Teinds	53	6	8									
	30 Bolls Victual	160	-	-	40	-	-						
	8 Stones Butter	19	4	-	12	16	-						
	5 Stones Cheese	6	-	-	3	-	-						
	10 Wcolders	14	-	-	6	-	-						
	1 Mart	10	13	4	9	6	8						
		612	10	-	71	2	8	683	12	4			
	He possesses for which no Rent is paid				366	13	4						
	For the Isle of Bernera				400	-	-						
He makes 40 Tons Kelp				180	-	-							
His own possession Augmented				600	-	-							
					1546	13	4	1546	13	4			
								2230	5	8			
(Bernera for)													
Luskinder, Shellebark	Money Rent	376	-	-									
Husmeas & Scarp	Teinds	53	6	8									
	5 Bolls Victual	26	13	4	6	13	4						
	6 Stones Butter	14	8	-	9	12	-						
	6 Stones Cheese	7	4	-	4	16	-						
	8 Wcolders	11	4	-	4	16	-						
	1 Mart	10	13	4	9	6	8						
		499	9	4	35	4	-	534	13	4			
8 Bays at 30 each	He possesses for which he pays no rent				240	-	-						
	Shellebark at				200	-	-						
(In his own hands)	Luskinder to be augmented				133	6	8						
	3 Bays more				66	13	4						
	Isle of Scarp to be augmented to				133	6	8						
	20 Ton Kelp may pay Mr Master				90	-	-						
					863	6	8	863	6	8			
								1398	-	-			

Place		Present Rent			Augmented Rent Concealed Outlets			Total Rent			Grassums		
		£	sh	d	£	sh	d	£	sh	d	£	sh	d
Scalpa (Donald Campbell)	Money Rent	133	6	8									
	Tennds	5	6	8									
		138	13	4				138	13	4			
4 Bays	He possesses without Rent for which he gets				112	-	-						
	2 Bays more				72	-	-						
	20 Tons Kelp				90	-	-						
	Additional Rent on his own possession				133	6	8						
	More				5	-	-						
					412	6	8	412	6	8			
								551	-	-			
Strone	Money Rent	67	6	8									
	Tennds	32	-	-									
	12 Bolls Victual	64	-	-	16	-	-						
	8 Stones Butter	19	4		11	4	-						
	8 Stones Cheese	9	12	-	6	8	-						
	6 Wedders	8	8	-	3	12	-						
		140	10	8	37	4	-	177	14	8			
	He possesses 2 Bays for which to pay				108	-	-						
	4 Tons Kelp				18	-	-						
	Additional Rent				100	-	-						
					226			226	-	-			
								403	14	8			
Fynes Bay	Money Rent	20	-	-				20	-	-			
	May be augmented to				30	-	-						
	3 Tons Kelp				13	10	-	43	10	-			
								63	10	-			

Harris 1754 Continued (2)

Place		Present Rent			Augmented Rent • Converted Customs			Total Rent			Grosssum		
		£	sh	d	£	sh	d	£	sh	d	£	sh	d
Raa	Money Rent	73	13	4									
	Teinds	16	-	-									
	4 Bolls Victual	21	6	8	5	6	8						
	12 Stones Butter	28	16	-	23	12	-						
	6 Wedders	8	8	-	3	12	-						
	1 Mast	10	13	4	9	6	8						
		158	17	4	41	17	4	200	14	8			
	May be augmented				33	6	8	33	6	8			
								234	1	4	360	-	-
Paible	Rent in Money	88	-	-									
	Teinds	21	6	8									
	12 Bolls Victual	64	-	-	16	-	-						
	8 Stones Butter	19	4	-	12	16	-						
	8 Stones Cheese	9	12	-	6	8	-						
	12 Wedders	16	16	-	7	4	-						
	1 Mast	10	13	4	9	6	8						
		229	12	-	51	14	8	281	6	8	360	-	-
Oyc & Tarrausay	Money Rent	141	6	8									
	Teinds	21	6	8									
	12 Bolls Victual	64	-	-	16	-	-						
	8 Stones Butter	19	4	-	12	16	-						
	8 Stones Cheese	9	12	-	6	8	-						
	12 Wedders	16	16	-	7	4	-						
	1 Mast	10	13	4	9	6	8						
		282	18	8	51	14	8	334	13	4	450	-	-

Not augmented but
pay of Grosssum

Place		Present Rent			Augmented Rent - Converted Customs			Total Rent			Grassum		
		£	sh	d	£	sh	d	£	sh	d	£	sh	d
Little Burrow	Money Rent	60	3	4									
	Teinds	14	13	4									
	2½ Bolls Victual	13	6	8	3	6	8						
	3 Stones Butter	7	4	-	4	16	-						
	X 7 Stones Cheese	8	8	-	5	12	-						
	3 Wedders	4	4	-	1	16	-						
		107	19	4	15	10	8	123	10	0			
	To be augmented to				26	13	4	26	13	4			
								150	3	4	144	-	-
Muckle & Middle Burrow	Money Rent	120	6	8									
	Teinds	27	6	8									
	4 Bolls Victual	24	-	-	6	-	-						
	4½ Stones Butter	10	16	-	7	4	-						
	6 Wedders	8	8	-	3	12	-						
		190	17	4	16	16	-	207	13	4			
	For 3 Tons Kelp at 7/6 per Ton				13	10	-	13	10	-			
								221	3	4	360	-	-
Scarisba more	Money Rent	138	13	4									
	Teinds	18	13	4									
	8 Bolls Victual	42	13	4	10	13	4						
	6 Stones Butter	14	8	-	9	12	-						
	8 Wedders	11	4	-	4	16	-						
		225	12	-	25	1	4	250	13	4	216	-	-
	To be augmented for 2 Bays				66	13	4	66	13	4	133	6	8
								317	6	8	349	6	8

Harris 1754 Continued (3)

Place		Present Rent			Augmented Rent & Converted Customs			Total Rent			Graindund	
		£	sh	d	£	sh	d	£	sh	d	£	sh
Scarrista begg	Money Rent	69	6	8	100	-	-					
	Teinds	16	-	-								
	4 Bolls Victual	21	6	8	5	6	8					
	4 Stones Butter	9	12	-	6	8	-					
	4 Wedders	5	12	-	2	8	-					
		121	17	4	114	2	8	236	-	-	120	-
Enca. 9 Drumaphont	Money Rent	333	6	8								
	Taynds	5	6	8								
	15 Bolls Victual	80	-	-	20	-	-					
		418	-	-	20	-	-	438	-	-	882	-
Island of Patey Kirktown there of	Money Rent	164	6	8								
	56 Bolls Victual > 66 at 10 Merks	298	13	4	74	13	4					
	18 Stones Butter	33	12	-	22	8	-					
	14 Wedders	19	12	-	8	8	-					
		516	4	-	172	2	8	688	6	8	240	-
Lingaa Northtown	Money Rent	63	6	8								
	16 Bolls Victual	85	6	8	21	6	8					
	2 Stones Butter	4	16	-	3	4	-					
	2 Wedders	2	16	-	1	4	-					
		156	5	4	25	14	8	182	-	-	360	-
St Kilda	Money Rent	86	13	4	86	13	4	173	6	8		
A Bay in the Forster To be augmented					53	6	8	53	6	8		
(2) which may be sold to the Forster at 53-6-8 Deduce his wages 20-0-0 =					33-6-8 Scots							
The Change house		120	-	-				120	-	-		

Place		Present Rent			Assessment Rent Connected Customs			Total Rent			Grasslands		
		£	sh	d	£	sh	d	£	sh	d	£	sh	d
Rondille	Money Rent	22	1	8									
	Tiends	21	6	8									
		242	13	4				242	13	4			

Bolls victual at 8 Mks per Boll
 Stones Butter at 4/- per stone
 Stones Cheese at 2/- per stone
 Wedders at 2/4 each
 Marks at 16 Marks each

NB The Kains Customs & other Services tho not paid to the Laird of M'Leod which appears to be so by the above Rentall is certainly paid to his Chamberlain & therefore there should be a certain sum stated upon each Tennent for these Kains Customs & personal Services, which may be 12 Scots upon each 100 Scots of this new Rentall, the same should be so mentioned & liquidate in the Tack

NB That such as pay for the privilege of making kelp have sett to them the privilege of cutting ware upon the sea shore of the lands sett and make the same into kelp or other ways at their pleasure

(On 3 rd Alenely Rental.)		Harri	£	sh	d
Old Rent of Money Rent, Cess & Mark money was			256	3	8
Tiends was			31	9	8
Bolls 183 1/2 victual at 8 Mks per Boll			978	13	4
Butter & cheese 85 1/2 Stone butter & 37 Stones Cheese Butter at 2/- & cheese at 1/4 Scots per Stone		compied at	249	12	-
95 Wedders at 1 st 4 th Scots x 1-4-0			114	-	-
5 Marks at 10-13-4 each			53	6	8
			4278	15	4

But by the Present sett to be made the rent is to stand Thus as in Schedule a pairt

Rental of the Barony of Harries pertaining to the Laird of Macleod for the Crop 1754.

Parcels of	Towns	Virtual Rent half Bar half Oatmeal	Mort.	Widdie	Butts	Chase	Virtual and Customs converted (See below)	Money Rent paid out of each possession	Total of Money Rent & Customs added together	Sterling											
Lands	Mens Names	B	f	p	l	stones	Stones	£	sh	d	£	sh	d	£	sh	d					
31	Bernera etc																				
	Donald Macleod paid formerly	30	-	-	-	1	10	8	5				382	13	4						
	He pays now in full of all dues													1320	-	-					
6½	Ensa Eye in Capvail & Drumaphont																				
	John Campbell	15	-	-	-				100	-	-		338	13	4	438	13	4			
	Luskindar, Shealibost, Housinish & Scarp																				
	Alex Macleod													800	-	-	66	13	4		
5	Strond & Killiegray																				
	John Campbell	12	-	-	-	6	8	8	132	-	-		234	13	4	366	13	4	30	11	1½
3	Little Scarrista																				
1½	Angus Macleod																				
1	Donald Morison																				
½	Angus Morison	4	-	-	-	4	4		48	-	-		85	6	8	133	6	8			
	Quidinish & Knockascan																				
	D ^r Angus Macleod												66	13	4	66	13	4			
														200	-	-	16	13	4		
4	Meikle Scarrista																				
	John McEwen, John Macleod, Donald & Kenneth McEulays																				
	Murdoch Mackenzie, Normand Morison, Henry Baine & Anne																				
	Campbel by equal portions	8	-	-	-	8	8		96	-	-		156	6	8	252	6	8	21	-	6½

Range of Land	Towns	Richard Rent half Ear half Oakmeall	Marks	Widdie Butte	Cheese (See Below)	Virtual and arduous (overlaid)	Morice Rent payable out of each possession	Total of Morice Rents (overlaid) added together	Sterling
		8 ff p l		Stones	Stones	£ sh d	£ sh d	£ sh d	£ sh d
8	Mable, Little & Middle Burrows M ^r Kenneth McAnlay	7 - - -		9 7 $\frac{1}{2}$		89 13 4	243 13 4	333 6 8	27 15 6 $\frac{7}{12}$
4	Eye in Tarransea & Gaster Alexander Campbell	12 - - -	1	12 8	8	160 - -	162 13 4	322 13 4	26 17 9 $\frac{1}{2}$
5	5 ^c Kilda (Tenants Copy) (John & Alex ^r Macleods copy in full)						133 6 8	133 6 8	
1	1 (A) penny of Kirkcrown of Pabbay They pay for D ^o of Kirkcrown	8 - - -		2 2		64 - -	23 10 -	87 10 -	
2	Dunpa & Northtown They pay for D ^o Dunpa & Northtown	16 - - -		2 2		117 6 8	63 6 8	180 13 4	401 10 - 33 9 2
2 $\frac{1}{2}$	Raa in Tarransea John Morison 1 half thereof and the other half equally between Ranald & Evan MacLinnons A - They pay for a mart They pay	3 1 1 1		5 5 5	56 7 -	57 3 9	74 - - 13 6 8	143 13 8 144 7 -	12 5 10
	C - for a Mart Copy	3 3 1 1		5 5 5	60 10 -	60 10 -	74 - - 13 - -	147 10 - 147 10 -	
3	Paible Maurice & Angus Morisons equally	9 - - -		9 6 6	108 - -	94 - -	202 - -	16 16 8	
2 $\frac{1}{2}$	Horgiboot Angus McLeod and Donald Morison equal	2 2 - -		4 2 2	34 13 4	71 13 4	106 6 8	8 17 2 $\frac{1}{2}$	

Rentel of the Barony of Harnes Crop 1754 Continued

Penny of	Towns	Victual Rent half year half Octave	Mark, Welly, Butter, Cheese	Nettial in Customer Converted (See below)	Money Rent each provision	Total of Money Rent Converted added together	Shilling
lands	Mens Harnes	B. ff p l	Stone Stone	£ sh d	£ sh d	£ sh d	£ sh d
6	Kirkton of Pabbay Donald M'Leod Shipmaster 2 pennys or 2 ¹ / ₆ parts <small>(Copy M'Leod his brother, wth me there)</small> Roderick & William Macleods 1 penny or 1 ¹ / ₆ part each Donald Macleod, Murdoch Macleod, another Donald Macleod, & Kenneth Morison the other 2 pennys or 2 ¹ / ₆ parts equally among them	48 - -	12 12	384 - - <small>Copy 380 13 4</small>	141 - -	525 - - <small>491 13 4</small>	43 15 -
1	³ / ₄ of Scalpa Donald Campbell				204 - -	204 - -	
	¹ / ₄ thereof called Remidile & Marick John Campbell				68 - -	68 - - 272 - -	22 13 4
1	Washmeil & Island Say Angus Campbell				91 6 8	91 6 8	
	Mauoir John M'Anlay				33 6 8	33 6 8 124 13 4	10 7 2 ¹ / ₂
	Donald M'Neil ^{copy} for Bay of Tarbat Finibay & Ardva ^{copy} Change of Rendill & Clitick of land following it				40 - - 40 - - 159 10 - <small>344</small>	239 10 - <small>224</small>	19 19 2

Pennys of Land	Towns Mens Names	Victuall Rent half year half paiment	Marks	Wedders	Butter	Cheese	Victuall & Cyllosses Converted (See below)	Money Rent payable out of each possession	Total of Money Rents converted added together	Sterling			
		£	f	p	d	Stone	Stone	£	sh	d	£	sh	d
1	Town & lands of Roudill								cap	227 3 4	20	4	5 ¹ / ₂
	The Bay in the Forrest									242 13 4			
	A									26 13 4			
	C									40 - -			
									C	6319 6 8			
	There is to be added 12 bolls of Pyners Meall at £ 6-13-4 per boll									80 - -			
	C Total Rent is									6399 6 8			

The Vict^e converted at £ 6-13-4 per boll, the Marks at 1/6, the Wedders at 1/2, the butter at £ 3-6-8 per stone & the Cheese at 1/1-13-4 per stone

Copy 6294-10-0

A bay in the Forrest 80-0-0

6374-10-0

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- 162-163 Keppoch Tenants 1655, 1728
- 169-170 Lochaber Rentals - MacKintosh, 1650 and Gordon, 1667
- 182 Rental of Kilmallie, 1667
- 202-203 Glenlui and Loch Arkaig Tenants and Rents, 1642
- 342-343 Rental of Laggan, 1677
- 345-346 Laggan Tenants, 1679
- 372-373 Kingussie Tenants, 1679
- 373-374 Rental of Kingussie, 1667
- 375 MacKintosh Tenants in Kingussie, 1635
- 394-395 Gordon Rental of Alvie, 1667
- 395 MacKintosh Tenants in Alvie, 1635
- 396 Alvie Tenants, 1679

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**The Past and Present Condition of the Skye Crofters
(Glasgow, 1886)**

Sheets I-V	Judicial Rental of MacLeod Estate ca 1724-1727
VII	Farms held as Tacks
VIII-IX	Farms held by Joint-Tenants
X-XI	Farms held by Tacksmen and later occupied by Crofters
XII-XV	Judicial Rental of MacDonald Estate, 1733
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XVII	Abstract Totals of Farms held by Tacksmen and Joint Tenants
XIX-XXIII	As VII-IX

MacLeod, R.C.

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(3rd Spalding Club, Aberdeen, 1938)**

Volume I

pp.148-153	Silver Rental of Skye, 1683
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Volume II

pp.79-82	Rental of MacLeod's part of Skye, 1708
83	A brief Rental of Harris, 1697
85	Rental of Glenelg, late Seventeenth Century (1724)
87	Estate Rent Totals, 1708
88	Estate Rent Totals, 1724
96	Estate Rent Totals 1708-1902

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pp.503-513	Rental of Badenoch 1603 from original in GD 44/51/747
513-515	Innes' comments thereon, reprinted from Lectures on Scotch Legal Antiquities (Edinburgh, 1872).

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- p. 64 Judicial Rental of Harris, 1724.
- pp.65-95 Factors' Accounts for Harris, 1725-1754.
- p. 75 Rental of Harris, 1735
- 96 Rental of Harris, 1754
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- pp.292-310 Copy Version of Gordon Estate Rental 1600

INVERNESS-SHIRE MUNIMENTS

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Dick Bequest Trust	GD1/4
Forfeited Estates Papers	E700-788
Fraser	GD 86
Fraser-MacKintosh Collection	GD 128
Gordon	GD 44
Grant	GD 248
MacDonald	GD 221
MacDonald of Clanrenald	GD 201
MacDonald of Glenaladale	GD 243
MacDonald of Sleat	cf GD 50
MacKintosh of Balnespick	GD1/141
MacKintosh of MacKintosh	GD 176
MacLean of Dochgarroch	NRA 00356
MacLeod	NRA 00361
MacNeill of Barra	NRA 00146
MacPherson of Cluny	GD 80
Rose of Kilravock	GD 125

The following brief survey of the MacLeod Muniments shows the origin of much of the source material for this thesis, and also indicates the different types of documents likely to be of interest to the social historian. Though Harris is referred to specifically, comparable material exists in many cases for Skye and the author has a more detailed catalogue. It must be stressed, however, that the MacLeod Papers are on temporary deposit in the Scottish Record Office. Application for permission to examine them should be made through the Secretary, National Register of Archives (Scotland), P.O. Box 36, Edinburgh.

Box
No.

- 9 Contract of Wadset of part of Harris to Sir Norman MacLeod of Berneray, 1698.
- 11Bb Charges of Estate 1694-1699, 1700-1705, 1706-1720.
- 11Bh Money Rent & Victual Totals for Estate, 1706-1713.
- 11Fa Receipt for Harris Cloth, 1706.
Ferriage receipt from Scalpay, 1706. Signed by John Campbell, Merchant in Harris.
- 13D Money, meal and milk cows given out in charity, Harris, 1740's and 1750's.
Receipts for Ministers' Stipends, 1740's and 1750's.
- 14Ab Ferme of excise on aill, beir, and acquavitie, 1673.
- 15Aa List of people lending money to MacLeod, 1717.
Grassum for Seven Years' Tack of Gesto, 1727.
- 15F Money given out by Rorie Campbell of Harries on MacLeod's behalf, 1691.
- 16 Various bills and receipts, 16C and early 17C, Edinburgh & Glasgow.
" " " " 1630-1676 and discharges, including Captain Angus MacKenzie, "Sometime indweller" in Harris.
Various bills and receipts, 1677-1697. Receipts for rents, cess, Bishop's Teinds, servants.
- 17Aa Book with major charges and Discharges of the whole estate, 1694-1720, including Charges and Discharges 1694-1700, 1700-1706, 1706-1720.

Box
No.

- 17Ac Payment of Harris teinds, 1662 - 175 merks.
Factors' Accounts for Harris 1688, 1690, 1700-1703,
includes payments to tenants including plaids.
Discharge of Rorie Campbell, merchant in the Harris, 1689.
Receipt for part payment of Harris rents 1692 - 1800 merks.
Rorie Campbell's discharge for annual rent in the Iye in
Taransay, 1697, 1699.
ditto 1698.
Harris Money Rent Totals, 1700, 1701, 1702, including the
Laird's part of the Tythes.
Cess 1701, 1702, Mart Money 1701, 1702, Wedders of Three Years.
Document concerning the rent and grassum paid by John Campbell
In Scalpay, 1706.
Converted prices of produce rents given from Harris, 1706.
Payments in charity, e.g. to widows, 1706.
Receipts for payment, Harris schoolmaster 1706, porter 1751.
Receipt for Chamberlain's fees in 1709 = 120 merks,
Rorie Macleod in Northtown.
Sett of 2d of Ensay to Rorie Campbell
- 17Ad Chamberlain's Discharge for fees, Harris 1708-1715.
Fees of Harris Schoolmaster, John Laing until 1712 when
'Leaving Country'.
Fees of Kenneth Campbell, Schoolmaster in Harris 1713-1717.
Manse built for Aulay Macaulay (Minister of Harris 1714),
by Macleod's orders, which he refused to pay because he was
afraid that he might not get his money back from tutors.
Bundle of Discharges, receipts, bills early eighteenth century.
- 17Ae Macleod's bond to John and Margaret McKenzie in Strond for
3,000 merks, 1679.
Salaries of Estate Officers, 1706.
Salary of Forester of Harris, N.D. Mentions John Campbell,
forester of Scalpay. Includes reference to deer.
Chamberlain's Discharge for fees, 1708.
Annual rent due Rorie Campbell in Ensay, 1711.
Rent money sent to Edinburgh, 1720 (2), 1723.
Minister of Harris' salary, 1726-1729.
Notes on Luskinter's Wadsett Right, 1735.
References to Murdo McKenzie, merchant in Luskinter, 1738.
Converted prices of cattle received from Harris, 1742.
Murdo MacKenzie, Ground Officer in Harris, 1750.
Books and bundles of discharges, cess receipts and monies
received and spent by young Nerman Macleod.
- 17B(1) Bundle of Discharges, 1720-1740.
Black cattle used as surety, 1726.
Document - If Macleod does not pay bill, promises to give
lender a tack, 1748.
Receipt for Tallow and cloth, Harris 1754, ditto plus salt 1754.
Money received from St. Kilda, 1755.
- 17B(2) Tax'd Relief of Harris, 1732.
- 17B(3) Factors' Accounts, Harris (including rents) 1741, 1743
Total Rent 1744, 1746, 1747, 1749 including Ground Officer's
Accounts 1749, 1753, 1754.

Box
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- 17G Discharge Harris 1726-1740. Excluding 1740-1;
includes 1735 rental and Factors' Accounts 1742-1743.
- 17Ia Rental of Harris, 1754.
- 21Aa Tack of Strond, 1657.
- 21Ac Articles of Tack - drawing 1735.
Rough Proof of Tack, 1754.
Tack of fishing, Harris, 1754.
- 21Ad Tack of St. Kilda, 1750.
- 22 Harris Rentals, 1680, 1684, 1685, 1697, 1698, 1701, 1702, 1703.
Silver Rent Lists 1683, 1686, 1687, 1688.
Factors' Accounts 1683, 1684.
- 22A(a) Rental of Whole Estate, 1707-1720.
Estate Rental, 1724.
Typed copy of a rental for Skye ca 1724-1727.
- 25a Document referring to hiring of men for carrying baggage, 1664.
Glasgow, Edinburgh and Skye bills, including ones for
education and clothes, until 1680.
- 25b Account of drovers on their way to market, 1670, including
rents from Skye and Harris.
Drover's Contract, 1682, with prices.
Account of cloth allowed in account of the rents Harris, 1686.
Rorie Campbell's Factor's Accounts for 1687, 1688, 1689, 1692.
Factors' Accounts, 1705-1706.
Malcolm Campbell's Factor's Account, 1706.
- 26 Expenses of MacLeod's journey South to Edinburgh, 1702.
Shoes given to servants, 1706.
Produce disbursed by Malcolm Campbell on MacLeod's orders to
pensioners, widows, etc., 1707.
Food to be sent North, 1730.
Miscellaneous early eighteenth century bills, including
those of merchants and chemists, Edinburgh and Glasgow.
Customs book indicating amounts of tea, coffee and cocoa
consumed per day at Dunvegan.
- 26b Orders from Contullich regarding estate, 1700.
Smith's bills, 1700-1750.
Miscellaneous bills including books, prints, clothing, wine, 1740's.
Factor's Account in same hand as 1754 rentals, N.D.
- 26d Orders to Malcolm Campbell, Chamberlain of Harris, 1706.
Factor's Account for Berneray, 1745-1746.
Strond's Tack Duty, 1750.
Ensay's Tack Duty, 1750.
Accounts for merchants, doctors and clothiers, mid-eighteenth
century.

Box
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- 29b Discharges for cess and Bishop's Teinds, 1677-1700.
Money given to young MacLeod in Edinburgh, ca 1700.
Document re hardship in Harris - arrears and rents
1705-1709.
- 33A Rental of Taransay, 1741.
- 50 Note of annual rents paid by Tutor 1706-1719 in his
discharge. Includes tenants in Harris.

AFTERWORD - APPENDIX TO CONCLUSION.

Social and economic change in the Hebrides was described by General Norman MacLeod, 23rd Chief, as 'sudden and baleful - and sudden and baleful were its effects'.¹ These effects were incomplete at the time of writing in the late eighteenth century, and the lack of historical perspective was doubtless responsible for his description as 'sudden' of a movement which should be measured in generations rather than years. Social changes resulting from a clean break, for example the abolition of the tacksman system on the Argyll estates in 1737, are wholly exceptional. Those which occurred on the MacLeod estate are, on the other hand, more likely to be representative of the gradual nature of developments taking place throughout the Highlands during the 17th and 18th centuries.

The fact that the changes on the MacLeod estate were probably typical is highly important, for in one sense this thesis does not lay claim to any 'new' answers. Its main purpose has been to describe change and to date it by means of an objective analysis of original documents - a necessary, but not always an easy task in a traditionally emotive subject, and one so prone to generalisations. The findings of the thesis differ substantially from those recorded in the works of Canon R.C. MacLeod and Dr. I.F. Grant; whereas the inaccuracies of the Canon are largely ones of fact (as demonstrated in Chapter 3 above), those of Dr. Grant are also of interpretation and emphasis, and much less obvious at first sight. It is worth stressing explicitly at this point where the findings of this thesis alter the picture of MacLeod estate history as she gave it.

One main stricture to be made regarding Dr. Grant's conclusions is their vagueness as regards social and economic affairs, evident from

such indefinite phrases as 'interesting period of transition'.²

This is compounded by her tendency to inaccuracy with the result, for example, that anyone using her figures with regard to rents would gain the impression that Harris had a rental of some £8,000 Scots in 1687 and Skye 37,898 merks in the early 18th century - figures which grossly exaggerate the actual amounts of £1,340-10-6 and 12,325 merks respectively.³

The kind of difficulties into which this approach leads her appears in her book on the MacLeods, (London, 1959) page 485:- 'It might be said that he (Norman MacLeod) and not Iain Breac might well claim, at least in his earlier years, to be the last chief of MacLeod who kept up the ancient state of a chief', and she implies that his absence from Dunvegan from 1741 when he was made an M.P. was directly responsible for the 'period of transition'. Dr. Grant does not elaborate on the characteristics she considers relevant to an ancient chiefly state, but evidently 'clan organisation of the MacLeods was still strong' in the decades following 1724.⁴ No definition of 'clan organisation' is provided but it is evident that she included 'paternalism' as one of the factors which distinguished between MacLeod's functions as a landlord and Chief - on page 488 she writes 'There was a strong element of what would now be called paternalism between the laird and his tenants - and what relationship is more beautiful than that between a father and his son?'. Dr. Grant specifically defines paternalism as payments of meal in times of famine, 'eases' often given to tenants who could not pay their rent in bad years, and allowances of money and meal to pensioners and individual tenants. She does not explore the relationship between arrears, poverty and rent increases, but confines herself regarding the latter to the imprecise observation that 'The most unfortunate failure of the estate

management was the steady rise in the rents'.⁵ Unfortunate it may have been, but it was certainly not steady, as thorough research would have revealed.

Dr. Grant is thus in a position of having to account for the contrast between Norman MacLeod's 'paternalism' and features of his conduct as revealed in the episode of 'The Ship of the men', (see below, page viii). She attempts to explain his conduct in this affair and others such as the persecution of the Contullichs by attributing it to his unstable nature and propensity for being influenced by stronger characters; indeed she goes further, and suggests on p. 409 that anomalies were caused by 'an infirmity of will-power that one can only regard as psychopathic'.

This attitude has serious repercussions for Dr. Grant's assessment of the relationship between MacLeod and his tacksmen. She represents the latter in the presence of a weak clan chief to be bastions of the ancient clan spirit. In an allusion to 'the interesting picture of the old inter-dependence of the chief and his tacksmen',⁶ the fact that many of the latter in 'The last days of the Red Man' were in desperate financial straits is left unexplored. In conjunction with this trend she obviously regards the system of land tenure to have been static throughout the seventeenth and most of the eighteenth centuries, from her statement that 'The old system of occupation of the land by large tacksmen and by a lesser number of farms cultivated jointly by several tenants both employing a number of lesser folk, 'acremen' and servants or scallags was unchanged (it was only at the very end of the eighteenth century that the formation of separate crofts began)'⁷. This either ignores or discounts the very real changes in land tenure that occurred during the first half of the eighteenth century, as well as during the second.

The overall impression that Dr. Grant therefore succeeds in creating is that of a society, the essential features of which remained more or less the same until well into the second half of the eighteenth century. She is able to create this impression by a mixture of generalised statements unrelated to the facts, and a frequent reference to the 'ancient clan spirit' which she manages to imply was still very much in evidence generally. Social change is thus accentuated from 1760 onwards and the failure to construe the significance of events before that time has the net result of a distortion of the historical picture.

If affairs had approximated to Dr. Grant's portrayal of them, this thesis would not have taken the form it did. It might, using her conclusions, have attempted to compare social change in Harris with other estates elsewhere in Inverness-shire, or else would have covered a greater time-span. Our findings show, however, that her generalisations and assumptions need to be revised so as to take account of the main results to emerge from the thesis, which are summarised in what follows.

The principal feature of economic change in Harris between 1680 and 1754 was a transition from a relatively diversified economy to one almost totally dependent on the cash income provided by the cattle trade. The main social change was that of a polarisation of society, so inexorable that events after 1754 were merely a crystallisation of a process with origins in the seventeenth century. The driving force which motivated landlords during the period was unquestionably the need for ever larger sums of money. Higher levels of spending can be seen at a glance from the numerous bills and discharges which date from the middle third of the seventeenth century onwards. Their number is directly related to the time landlords spent in the South. Thus there is a relatively high

number surviving from the times of John Mor and Rory Mir, 16th and 17th Chiefs, and relatively few from the time of Iain Breac (1664-1693), who from the 1670's suffered from Kidney Disease and rarely moved from Dunvegan. The first rentals date from the latter part of this landlord's tenure, and his attitude to tenants can be clearly observed in them.

Iain Breac, though able to pay off a considerable amount of the debt bequeathed him, - possibly over £100,000 Scots - clearly did not exploit the resources of his estate to the fullest potential, as the rentals clearly illustrate. Firstly, a substantial portion of the estate was underdeveloped in the sense that new holdings appear on later rentals. Secondly, produce rents were still paid largely in kind, involving the landlord in the expense of collection and problems of allocation. Thirdly, numbers of cattle sent south were lower than those sent half a century later. Fourthly, though some tenants were paying above-average rents for their holdings, most of these holdings were of a productive capacity in excess of the rents being paid, indicated by the regular payment of full amounts of rent. Finally, rents were clearly not as high as they could have been, because even under reasonable climatic conditions, increased rents in the early eighteenth century were accompanied by arrears no higher than those produced by the lower rents of the early 1680's.

Significant changes from this traditional social structure are first observable in the 'Contullich Administration' (1706-1724). Although, as Tutor, Contullich declared that he intended to run the estate according to 'Nottourly known' practices, in effect he introduced some innovations which led to changes in the estate economy and to polarisation of society. The clearest evidence for both these trends is contained in his attitude towards fellow tacksmen, observable in rentals and Factors' Accounts as

follows. Firstly, tacks were reduced from an indefinite duration (i.e. life plus 19 years) to relatively short periods of five or seven years, and while rents were not increased, each tacksmen (e.g. of Strond), was obliged to pay a grassum which varied between six months and a year's rent. In this way, though traditional proportions of the yearly rental payable by the upper tenantry remained more or less constant, the way was open for the incoming landlord to dispense with the traditional length of tack.

Secondly, the evidence suggests that produce rents were collected only desultorily during this period. One of the few occasions on which Contullich collected them was in 1704-5, and then to store them in girnells in time of hardship. Admittedly he did not interfere to the extent of converting the produce rents into money prices, but the lapse in traditional methods of payment was a marked step towards a cattle-orientated economy.

Thirdly, it is in the Contullich accounts that we first have evidence of other than small tenants being reduced to insolvency, i.e. destitute and in receipt of the laird's charity. Officials such as smiths and falconers appear and, notably, both the Minister and Chamberlain of Harris.

Alexander Macleod, the Steward of St. Kilda, also suffered financial hardship during the late seventeenth century. In the absence of other evidence this points to a change in outlook between landlord and tacksmen in that the former was prepared to let these people - discharging as they did three of the most important functions in Harris - to sink to such depths. A further contemporary innovation was the replacement of local men as administrators of Harris by Chamberlains from Skye, an indication of the future centralisation of estate management.

Despite the interim nature of the Contullich administration it must be argued, however, that many of the essential features of traditional relationships still existed in Harris in 1724. Because of the scarcity of evidence the dating of trends during the following period is especially difficult, but it is nevertheless possible to trace elements in Norman's attitude towards his tenantry which were to have a profound effect.

Norman's character can only be described as pliable, yet at times stubborn as only the weak-willed can sometimes be, and his dealings with his tenants were pervaded by a lack of imagination rather than any psychopathic tendencies. Thus the case can be made that he genuinely did not realise how drastic a change to a money economy would be, and the effect it would have on the tenants as they tried to produce more from a system than it could actually give. Specific evidence from Harris documents which record his attitude are rare but irrefutable, e.g. his drawing up of a Judicial Rental in 1724 to discover rents paid in the time of Iain Breac, and the setting of new, increased rents - signs that he considered the 'old order' had been found wanting. This is further illustrated by his suing the Contullichs alleging mismanagement. His need for money was also immediately obvious in the wide-scale conversion of Harris produce rents from the time that he assumed management of the estate.

A gradual hardening of his attitude towards tacksmen as a class in general is observable from the rentals. Though tacks became fixed at 19 years' duration, when rents were increased the difference was sometimes vast and the economic basis of the landlord - tacksmen relationship is well illustrated in the Baron Court Memorandum of his instructions.⁸ Furthermore, it is very clear that tacksmen had very little influence on his policies, as witness many unavailing letters urging caution in expenditure.

In 1739, prisoners from a ship bound for America escaped when she landed in Northern Ireland for refitting. They proved to be from Bracadale in Skye and Finsbay in Harris and men, women and children had been seized violently 'having not been charged with any crime'. Norman MacLeod and Sir Alexander MacDonald were conspirators in the scheme, perpetrated by Norman MacLeod of Unish, to kidnap and transport poor people with the object of selling them in the Colonies. MacLeod at this time was attempting to enter Parliament under the protection of Lord President Forbes. To the latter he wrote that he was innocent of all charges except, perhaps, 'inadvertency or heedlessness'⁹, but though the incident was suppressed one of its political consequences was to strengthen the hands of the Lord President in dealing with MacLeod in the pre-1745 period, and was probably responsible for the latter's loyalty to the Government during the Jacobite Rebellion.¹⁰

At its best, the notorious affair indicates complete cynicism on MacLeod's part, as well as a greedy readiness to enrich himself at the expense of the poorer people. Yet at the same time that he was involved in this episode, his charity towards needy tenants continued unabated. Shiploads of meal were chartered in 1730 and 1747 and numerous records of payments of both meal and money exist, especially during the late 1740's and early 1750's. That sub-tenants were included in such payments is evident from the accompt, written by Norman himself, to Alexander MacLeod of Luskintyre. Written at Rowdil in 1750, it includes the item, 'To Old Neil Old Woman Old Cripple Mclean £28-5-00'¹¹.

In some ways the class most affected by economic and social change was the upper tenantry, who as the bonding agent within the traditional landlord-tenant relationship were the most vulnerable to its dissolution. Their reaction was either to undergo commercialisation or eventually to

emigrate; in Harris it is possible to see both trends. The upper tenantry in the late seventeenth century performed and enjoyed many of the traditional roles ascribed to them. From the rentals it is possible to see that families of large tenants, (the majority of whom had a close association with the Macleods rather than kinship with them,) monopolised certain holdings in Harris, and from other documents it appears that they had occupied them for much of the seventeenth century. From this class were recruited administrators, and it also included merchants and such people as the Harris Forester and Minister. Their financial relationship with the landlord is epitomised by rent payments in the 1680's of Sir Norman Macleod of Berneray, who evidently regarded his holding of Hushinish and Scarp to be worth 160 merks per annum and paid that amount regularly whereas the rent due was 280 merks. In their relationship with their sub-tenants it may be inferred that they provided for them in times of scarcity, since Macleod's charity extended mainly to small tenants.

As a class, the upper tenantry in Harris showed few signs of commercialisation during the late seventeenth century. A very few individuals stood out; the Campbell brothers traded with Glasgow; but generally they do not seem to have carried out business to the same extent as their counterparts in Skye. The most important piece of evidence for a change already having taken place in their economic role is the fact that some of the more important holdings are recorded in the rentals as paying only money rent; they were probably even then concentrating on the production of cattle. Yet the numbers of cattle stocked seem to have been comparatively small at this time; the Chamberlain himself, on his death in 1685, possessed only 47 beasts.

That tacksmen by the early eighteenth century were by no means entrenched in their privileged position is indicated by the insolvency of some already

referred to and by the fact of their replacement as administrators. This latter development, though often temporary, proved to be a significant break in the relationship between the landlord and his agents; from the time that the new generation of administrators took office the relevant letters and accounts show that their dealings with MacLeod were much more formal and businesslike than during the seventeenth century, though the tone of these documents does not alter to any marked extent between 1725 and 1755, despite the inability of Factors to provide MacLeod with the full amounts of money rent due. On the other hand, Factors of Harris at this period were sometimes from Skye and, more often, from Berneray.

Tacksmen were affected by increases in rent to a far greater degree than smaller tenants. Indeed, rent increases of 1724 were for this class as marked as those of 1754, and a major part of the increase in Norman MacLeod's income in the latter year was realised from augmentations in the converted prices for produce rents. The attitude of tacksmen to these increases was, however, very different in the two years. In 1724 one or two had objected to rents fixed a year or so before and 'did not undergo to pay them' whereupon they were either allowed by Norman to pay the old rent, or a compromise was reached. Any opposition to the rent increases of 1754 was not recorded. Amounts of arrears show that the cause was not complacency; the reason is probably that resistance would have been both fruitless and unwise as Norman himself had assessed the increase in rents for that year, the first time he had acted without consultation. Owing to lack of evidence the effect of the 1754 rent increases cannot be assessed. Increases in previous rentals, however, show that the process of change within this class was likely to continue, applying a sorting out process which tended to promote those tenants who were prepared to adapt to the new economic conditions, and to eliminate those whose way of life was so firmly rooted in the past that their type of farming was no longer economically viable.

Increasingly, rentals and Factors' Accounts show that the only way in which rent increases could be absorbed was by the sale of more cattle. More cattle required more land, and land converted to pasture. The Morrisons, an old established tenant family, are an example of failure to adapt to the new, extensive system of farming: the rentals of 1680, 1703 and 1724 show their total holdings actually reduced, whilst at the same time becoming increasingly fragmented among the sons and grandsons, and inevitably less profitable. Conversely, members of families such as the Campbells of Strond managed to make good by diversifying their interests so that only one or two members tenanted large holdings, while others became merchants or ministers. The new economic system gave the opportunity for some of these families to become extremely powerful in landholding terms. Though signs in Harris are not so evident as in Skye, several 'dynasties' date from the mid-eighteenth century, including the Campbells of Ensay, with roots originally elsewhere in the island, and the MacAulays who were incomers, replacing former tenant families. The common element amongst such families was that of enterprise; only in this way could they hope to survive.

In the new economic circumstances small tenants and sub-tenants were a liability to both the tacksman and the landlord. They occupied land which was increasingly required for cattle-rearing rather than for the provision of food. Political conditions in the late seventeenth century were such that MacLeod no longer needed as many small or sub-tenants as in previous years, but the fact that numbers of the former are registered in the rentals proves that he still had some concern for his moral obligations as a clan chief at that period.

Changes arising from the attitudes of the landlord are difficult to measure because rentals from 1706 until 1754 do not include the names

of all tenants. However, by 1754 a diminution in the numbers of small tenants occurred through the amalgamation of holdings and enforcement of extensive rather than intensive farming.

Small tenants had four alternatives. They could either become joint-tenants in other holdings, sub-tenants on the same holding, or on that of a relation or friend, or they could move and establish themselves on previously unclaimed land. If these alternatives were not possible they became cottars. Unused land in Harris was mainly on the East and North-West Coasts, and the rentals from 1724 onwards include new holdings in these areas under the aegis of one tenant, a marked change of emphasis. The occupation of a comparatively large holding in 1754 (e.g. of a halfpenny land to a twopenny land) was, on the other hand, no guarantee of financial independence, because the tenants of such lands are named in lists of meal and money dispensed in charity, together with their named sub-tenants who were thus not being provided for otherwise.

One of the main distinctions between tenant and sub-tenant was in the services due from each class; 1754 represents a very clear turning point in this respect. Until then services from tenants were unstressed and unspecified, allowances being given for any work done for MacLeod. The 1754 augmented rental of Harris mentions the fact that services were paid to the Chamberlain rather than to MacLeod and suggests a converted value of £12 per £100 Scots of rent due—an illustration of the lack of need for a surplus tenantry, since while most could supply the services they found it difficult to pay the converted prices.

Where else in the Highlands were there signs of economic and social change that can in any way parallel our findings concerning Harris at this period?

Dr. Cregeen's work on the Argyll estates is certainly one study which has a bearing on this problem. From it, it is clear that the characters and careers of the second Duke of Argyll and Norman Macleod were remarkably similar. Both were brought up elsewhere than on their estates, and when they assumed control both patently considered their lands to be an under-exploited source of revenue.¹² Yet both were apparently unwilling to inject the amount of capital necessary to ensure future prosperity, especially as regards improvement schemes.¹³ Both displayed an ambivalent attitude towards their tenantry, each considering himself to be the patriarchal head of a clan, yet regarding the majority of its members as surplus to his requirements and therefore a drain on the economy.¹⁴

Preoccupation with the relationship between numbers of tenants and size of estate income seems, however, to have affected the Argyll landlords earlier than the Macleod ones. Rents rose markedly on the Argyll estates during the late seventeenth century; the Kintyre rental approximately doubled between 1650 and 1700.¹⁵ In 1690 the first Duke brought friends down to Kintyre in order to push up bidding for farms likely to be undervalued owing to the threatened emigration of tacksmen and tenants to Northern Ireland.¹⁶ In some districts of Cowal, though not in the northern areas of Mull and Tiree, produce rents were commuted before the eighteenth century.

In Argyll, as in the Outer Isles, the development of the Cattle Trade offered new opportunities for both landlords and upper tenantry to realise greater revenues; possibly there was greater enterprise shown on the mainland than in Harris. In 1730 the Duke of Argyll was receiving from his northern lands tack-duties of up to £4,000 Scots,¹⁷ though in some senses these holdings were not typical of the Argyll estates in general, since they represented an earlier phase of colonisation of

subject lands by a dominant clan, such amounts were greater than the entire Harris rental. Amongst the upper tenantry and gentry in Argyll it is possible to see that during the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries semi-military and political roles were gradually being superseded by individual enterprise. An outstanding and fairly early example of this development is provided by Archibald Campbell of Knockbuy on Loch Fyneside, who in 1728 had as much as a third of his feued holding under the grazing of his own beasts; the proportion varied according to cattle prices.¹⁸

Social development on the two estates temporarily diverged with the abolition of the tacksman system in Argyll in 1737. Each tenant was given a tack, labour dues were abolished and tacksmen were forbidden to have sub-tenants except by special dispensation.¹⁹ As a class, sub-tenants seem until that date to have led similar lives on each estate; in both Harris and Argyll they held their lands on an unwritten basis from year to year, paid their rents largely in kind and helped to pay labour dues.²⁰ After 1737 this category of tenant in Argyll was handicapped in that it no longer had any protection against poverty. It also missed practical assistance, for example the provision of implements, and without the necessary capital many sub-tenants were forced to give up their holdings to the cattle ranchers. The evidence suggests that these results were happening soon after 1750, contrasting with MacLeod's almost liberal dispensations of charity at that time.²¹

The aftermath of 1737 was such that the weakest went to the wall, an outcome which applied to tacksmen and tenant alike. After that date the traditional role of tacksmen in the landlord-tenant relationship largely disappeared, to be replaced by the sole criterion of their financial contribution to the estate economy. The Campbell of Knockbuy

rentals show evidence of the 'sorting out' effects of the new economic system on the upper tenantry; the ones who survived were those prepared to become commercially-minded by pursuing extensive farming and improvements such as cattle breeding.²²

This process of elimination was also taking place in Harris during the middle decades of the eighteenth century, but differences lay in the scope provided by the droving system: Knockbuy and Campbell of Inverawe had a turnover of 2,000 beasts in their cattle-dealing business in 1740.²³ Knockbuy himself owned a stock of 475 beasts in 1750, besides the cattle rents payable by his tenants, a contrast with the total rent of some 200-300 beasts payable from Harris at that time. In this respect the social origins of many drovers on the two estates are very different: in Argyll they were recruited from the upper tenantry,²⁴ and established themselves as an entrepreneurial class from the 1750's - families such as the Gregorsons and MacFarlanes, who, owning a certain amount of capital, were able to expand their activities, both financially and territorially.²⁵ In 1750 in Harris there are few signs of such an expansion, since drovers were generally from the lower class of tenantry. Large tenants such as Donald MacLeod of Berneray or the tacksmen of Scalpay for example, who paid a money rent only, presumably carried on business of some kind - as, indeed, did Knockbuy as merchant in Inveraray - but there is no recording of it in the rentals. One gains the impression that they had diversified interests; Scalpay for instance combined his payments of cattle with the office of Forester of Harris, and some Campbell tacksmen of Strond were merchants. Most significantly, drovers, occupying a couple of pennylands, were often amongst those in receipt of charity, suggesting that the droving system was still not very well organised or profitable in Harris.

The final point to be made regarding economic and social development on the two estates is that, though the opportunities for individual enterprise were exploited sooner in Argyll than in Harris, they brought in their train very similar social effects. On both estates by the end of the eighteenth century superfluous and unambitious tenants who lacked business acumen were penalised at the expense of commercially-orientated middlemen. The process in Argyll by 1750 was well on the way to completion; in Harris, though conditions were ripe for its development, the social cataclysm was still in its earlier stages. Extremes of social divisions were not as divided, and (apart from the Ship of the Men) nowhere on the MacLeod estates was emigration yet being considered as the only solution to lack of capital. MacLeod himself had yet to exploit the economic situation to such a degree that the price of cattle would be the only factor determining the alternatives of prosperity and starvation: it was not until the 1770's that this came about.

'The chiefs, deprived of their prerogative, necessarily turned their thoughts to the improvement of their revenues, and expect more rent, as they have less homage'.²⁶ The changing attitudes and requirements of landlords were crucial for social development, which in Harris between 1680-1754 was thus more marked than Dr. I.F. Grant thought, but less than Dr. Eric Cregeen has found on the Argyll estates.

NOTES TO AFTERWORD.

1. General MacLeod of MacLeod,
Memoirs of My Own Life (undated M.S.S.)
2. I.F. Grant,
The MacLeods (London, 1959), p. 492.
3. Figures given on pp. 349 and 352;
corrected totals on pp. 266 and 204 of the thesis.
4. I.F. Grant, op.cit. p. 347.
5. Ibid, p. 493.
6. Ibid, p. 492.
7. Ibid, p. 549.
8. See page 301 of the thesis.
9. Printed in More Culloiden Papers (ed. D. Warrand),
Vol. III, p. 141.
10. This episode is described in some detail by Dr. Grant
on pp. 404-409 of The MacLeods.
11. MacLeod Papers, Box 13D.
12. E.R. Cregeen,
The Tacksmen and their Successors (Scottish Studies,
Vol. 13, 1969), p. 105.
13. Ibid, p. 131.
14. Ibid, pp. 103-4.
15. A. McKerral,
Kintyre in the Seventeenth Century (Edinburgh, 1949), p. 86.
16. Cregeen, op.cit. p. 104.
17. Ibid, p. 100.
18. E.R. Cregeen,
Archibald Campbell of Knockbuy and the Estate of Knockbuy
(unpublished M.S.S.), p. 7.
19. Cregeen, The Tacksmen and their Successors, p. 116.
20. Ibid, p. 100:
Archibald Campbell of Knockbuy, pp. 4, 5, 10.
21. Cregeen,
The Tacksmen and their Successors, pp. 110, 120, 131.

22. Cregeen,
Archibald Campbell of Knockbuy, pp. 12, 31.
23. Cregeen,
Recollections of an Argyllshire Drover, (Scottish Studies,
Vol. 3, 1959), p. 145.
24. Cregeen,
Archibald Campbell of Knockbuy, p. 21.
25. Cregeen,
The Changing Role of the House of Argyll in the Scottish
Highlands (A.S.A. Monographs, London, 1968), p. 13.
26. S. Johnson, Journey to the Western Islands of Scotland
(1924 edition), p. 139.